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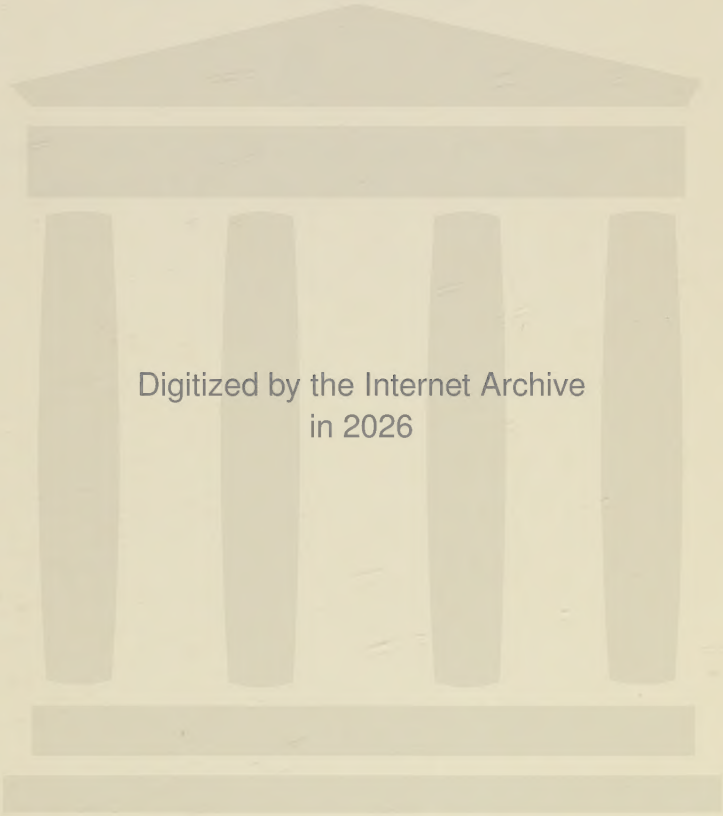
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THE ARGONAUT SERIES

Edited by

ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH

IV. THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO: Volume Two

HERNANDO CORTES, FROM AN OLD DUTCH ENGRAVING.

The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico

Written in the Year 1568 by

~~CAPTAIN~~ BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO,
ONE OF THE CONQUERORS,
and translated from the Original Spanish
By MAURICE KEATINGE, Esq.

With an Introduction by
ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH

ILLUSTRATED

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME TWO

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THE TRUE HISTORY
OF THE
CONQUEST OF MEXICO

Parts the
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The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico.

PART THE SECOND.

Chapter i.

Tlascala, July, 1520. *Transactions and occurrences there. Foundation of the colony of Segura de la Frontera. Subjugation of the neighbouring districts by the Spaniards.*

We were thus, as I have mentioned, by the friendship of the Tlascalans, hospitably received and entertained in their city, after our fatigues, dangers, and losses, in the retreat from Mexico.

One of the first things done by Cortes on our arrival was, to enquire after the gold which had been brought there, to the value of forty thousand crowns, and which was the share of the garrison of Villa Rica. He was informed by the Tlascalan chiefs, and also by one of our invalids who remained there when we marched to Mexico, that the persons who had been sent from Villa Rica to receive it, had, on their return, been robbed and murdered on the road, at the time we were engaged in hostilities with the Mexicans. Another cause of uneasiness to us was, our uncertainty as to the situation of our countrymen at Villa Rica. Letters were sent, to inform them of the events which had lately taken place, and desiring them to send us what arms and ammunition they could spare, and a strong reinforcement. We were informed by the return of the messengers, that all continued well in

the neighbourhood of that garrison. The reinforcement also, which had been required, was immediately sent. It consisted of seven men in the whole, three of whom were sailors, and every one of them invalids. They were commanded by a soldier named Lencero, the same who kept the inn at present called by his name. For a long time afterwards, a reinforcement of Lencero, was a proverbial expression with us.

We had now some trouble given us by the younger Xicotenga. This chief on hearing of our misfortunes in Mexico, and of our being in march for his country, conceived the project of taking us by surprise, and putting us all to death; for which purpose he was very active in forming his party, and having assembled many of his friends, relations, and adherents, he exposed to them the facility with which it could be done. These intrigues however could not go on long, without coming to the knowledge of his father, who reproached him severely for his treacherous conduct, assuring him that if it came to be known, it would cost the lives of him and all those concerned with him. The young man however persevered, paying no regard to what his father said, and the affair at length coming to the ears of his mortal enemy Chichimecatecle, he immediately gave information of it; whereupon, a council was summoned of all the chiefs to take the affair into consideration, and Xicotenga was brought prisoner before them. Maxicatzin was the orator upon the occasion and spoke at considerable length in favour of the Spaniards; he said that prosperity had attended their nation ever since our arrival amongst them. That we had enabled them to eat salt with their provisions, and that we were certainly those of whom their ancestors had spoken. He then reprobated and exposed the conduct of the younger Xicotenga. In reply to this, and to the discourse of his father to the same purpose, the young man made use of such outrageous and disrespectful language, as induced them to seize him by the collar, and throw him down the steps of the build-

ing into the street, and he very narrowly escaped with his life; but Cortes did not think it prudent in his present situation to carry matters any farther. Such was the fidelity of our Tlascalan allies, with whom we at this time staid two and twenty days.

Cortes meditated an attack upon the adjoining provinces of Tepeaca and Zacatula, on account of the murders committed by these people upon the Spaniards, and determined to set out upon it, at the expiration of the above mentioned period; but when he came to propose this to his troops, he found the universal sentiment of the soldiers of Narvaez decidedly against it. They thought that they never could get back soon enough to their houses and mines in the Island of Cuba, and the slaughter of Mexico, and battle of Obtumba, made them desire to renounce all connexion with Cortes, his riches, and his conquests. But beyond all others Andres de Duero, his friend and companion, most heartily cursed the day he had embarked with him in the business, and the gold which he had been forced to leave in the ditches of Mexico. They all totally declined any connexion with his new schemes, and finding that words did not avail them they made a requisition in form to that effect, stating the insufficiency of our force, and demanding licences to return to Cuba. Cortes having received and read the memorial, replied to it, giving at least ten reasons for his plan, to every one they alledged against it; his own soldiers also addressed him on the occasion, requesting him on no account to give permission to any one to depart, but that we should all remain together, as being most conducive to the service of God, and his Majesty. At length they were obliged to acquiesce, with a very ill grace, and much murmuring against Cortes, and his expeditions, and against us who supported him in them, and who as they said had nothing to lose but our lives. Cortes on his part made them a general promise, that by the next convenient opportunity he would send them to their Island of Cuba.

The historian Gomara in his account of this transaction

makes no distinction between us and the soldiers of Narvaez, as if we were equally concerned in presenting the memorial; and this he does in order to enhance the merits of his hero, Cortes, and to depreciate us the true conquerors of Mexico, because we did not think it became us to bribe him with gifts to speak favourably of us, when we were those, and those only, who supported Cortes. And now this historian would annihilate our reputations, in saying, forsooth, that we memorialled!!

It would have better become this historian to attend more to matters of fact, and less to his figures of rhetoric in what he writes. I have been astonished at that part of his relation, where he assigns the victory at Obtumba solely to the valor of Cortes. I have said before, that it was in the first instance owing to God's mercy; I say also that Cortes did every thing that ought to be expected from a wise and valiant general, and that he owed his success, under God, to the stout and valiant captains, and to us brave soldiers, who broke the force of the enemy, and supported him by fighting in the manner we fought, and as I have related. What that historian says relative to his charging the general and bearer of the royal standard of Mexico is true, and it was Juan de Salamanca, afterwards alcalde major of Guacacualco, who killed him with his lance, and presented the ornamented plume to Cortes; which plume his Majesty was afterwards pleased to give Salamanca in his coat of arms. Not that I am unwilling to ascribe all due honour to our Cortes; for I know that he deserves it; and if it was the custom, as formerly, to give triumphs to generals, he is more worthy of one than any Roman. Gomara also greatly exaggerates the numbers of our Indian allies, and the population of the country beyond all reason; for it was not the fifth part of what he represents it. According to his account there would have been more thousands here, than inhabit all Castille; but where he has written eighty thousand we should read one thousand. All this he has done in order to make his narra-

tive the more agreable. In my history I tell the truth, word for word as it happened, without looking to ornaments of rhetoric; for I consider myself obliged to adhere to matter of fact, and do not deal in flatteries.

We now set out on our march, to punish the districts of Cachula, Tepeaca, and Tecamachalco, without artillery or fire arms of any kind, for all had been left in the ditches of Mexico. Our force consisted of sixteen cavalry and four hundred and twenty infantry, mostly armed with sword and target, with about four thousand Tlascalans. We halted at night, at the distance of three leagues from Tepeaca; but the people of the place had deserted their houses on our approach. We made some prisoners on our way, by whom Cortes sent to the chiefs, to inform them, that we came for the purpose of obtaining justice for the murder of eighteen Spaniards, who had been without any cause put to death in crossing their territories; and also to know the reason of their entertaining Mexican troops, and to warn them, that if they did not immediately treat with us for peace, we would make war against them with fire and sword. However terrible our language was, that of their answer conveyed by our messengers and two Mexicans, was much more so; for the Mexicans were elevated by their successes against us at the bridges. Cortes treated them very kindly, and declared every wish to forget and forgive the past, but all could not do; they sent back for answer, that if we did not return immediately, they would put us all to death and make a feast upon our bodies.

Upon this Cortes called a council of the officers, and it was then determined, that a full statement of all which had passed should be officially drawn up by a royal notary, whereby all the Mexicans and allies of the Mexicans who had killed Spanish subjects, after having given obedience to his Majesty, should be declared in a state of slavery. This being duly drawn up and attested, we once more sent to require them to come in, giving them notice of the consequences of their contumacy, but they returned an answer similar to their

former one. Both sides then prepared for battle, and on the next day we came to an action with them. This battle taking place in open fields of maize, our cavalry speedily put the enemy to flight, with considerable loss, though they made a stout resistance; but our allies fought gallantly, and pursued them hotly, and we took many boys, for slaves.

The Mexicans being thus defeated, the natives came in, to sue for peace; we accordingly proceeded to the town of Tepeaca, to receive their submission, and on that spot was founded our settlement of Segura de la Frontera, the situation being eligible, as on the road to Villa Rica, and in a fertile district. The municipal officers were immediately appointed, and the iron brand was made here, for the purpose of marking those natives who were taken for slaves; they were marked with the letter G, for "Guerra," or war. We made excursions through the district, and to the towns of Cachula, (where they had put fifteen Spaniards to death in the houses,) Tecamechalco, Las Guayavas, and many others whose names I do not recollect; taking a number of prisoners, who were immediately branded for slaves. By these means, in about the space of six weeks, we reduced the people to order and obedience.

At this period another prince of the blood royal was elected to the throne of Mexico, for the former one who had expelled us from that city, was dead of the small pox. The new king was named Guatimotzin; he was a young man about the age of twenty five years, of elegant appearance, very brave, and so terrible to his own subjects that they all trembled at the sight of him. When the intelligence reached this prince of what had happened in Tepeaca, he began to be apprehensive for his other provinces, neglecting, however, nothing that it was in his power to do, to induce the chiefs to continue steady to him; and he also sent considerable bodies of troops to watch our movements.

Cortes now received letters from Villa Rica informing him, that a vessel had arrived at the port, commanded by a

gentleman named Pedro Barba, who was his intimate friend. He had been lieutenant under Velasquez at the Havannah, and had now brought with him thirteen soldiers and two horses; he also brought letters from Velasquez the governor of Cuba to Narvaez, who was thought to be by this time all powerful in New Spain, ordering him, if Cortes was not already dead, to send him to Cuba, that he might be thence transmitted to Castille, such being the directions of the bishop of Burgos. As soon as Pedro Barba arrived in the harbour, the officer whom Cortes had appointed admiral went to visit him, taking with him in his boat a strong crew, with their arms concealed. When he came on board, he saluted Barba and the rest courteously, and enquired after the health of the governor of Cuba. The others in their turn enquired after Narvaez, and what had become of Cortes. They were told that Cortes was a fugitive with about twenty of his companions, and that Narvaez had established himself, and was in possession of great riches. They then invited Barba and the rest on shore to refresh themselves, to which they assenting descended into the boats, where they were bid to surrender themselves instantly prisoners to Cortes. They had no alternative, and were obliged to submit. The ship was dismantled, and the captain and crew sent to us in Tepeaca, to our great satisfaction, for though we did not suffer much in the field, yet continual fatigue had made us very unhealthy, five of our soldiers having died of pleurisies within a fortnight. With this party came Francisco Lopez, afterwards regidor of Guatimala. Barba was exceedingly well received by Cortes, who was informed by him that he might expect the arrival of another small vessel with provisions, within the space of a week, which accordingly happened. On board the last mentioned ship came a gentleman, native of Medina del Campo, by name Rodorigo de Lobera, eight soldiers, and one horse. Our friends pursued the same method with this vessel that they had done with the former, and with the same success. The party joined us in a few days, it

being no small satisfaction to us, thus to find our army recruiting its numbers.

The new king of Mexico having sent large bodies of troops to these provinces that were nearest to the Spanish army, they became very disorderly, robbing and outraging the people. These provocations induced the natives to send four chiefs secretly to negotiate with Cortes, offering to surrender themselves to him, provided he would give them his assistance to expell the Mexicans. Cortes immediately acceded to the proposal, and ordered for this service the whole of the cavalry and crossbow-men, under the command of Christoval de Oli. A considerable number also of Tlascalans were joined in the expedition. Several of the captains who had come with Narvaez were appointed to command in this detachment, which amounted in the whole to above three hundred soldiers. As our people were on their march, conversing with the Indians, they received such accounts from them of the force of the enemy, as entirely deprived the soldiers of Narvaez of what little inclination they ever had for military expeditions, and made them doubly anxious to return to their Island of Cuba, being utterly averse from a repetition of the days of Mexico, and Obtumba. They began to grow very mutinous, and told their chief in plain terms, that if he was determined to persist in his attempt, he might do it by himself, for that they were all resolved to quit him. De Oli remonstrated with them upon the impropriety of such conduct, in which he was supported by all the soldiers of Cortes, but in vain; he was compelled to yield to their perverseness, and halt at Cholula, from whence he wrote to Cortes, informing him of his situation. When Cortes received his letter, he immediately returned an angry message, ordering him positively to advance with his whole force, at all events. When De Oli received this, he fell in a violent rage with those who had brought that reprimand on him, and ordering the whole to march immediately, de-

clared he would send back any one who hesitated to Cortes, to be treated by him as a coward deserved.

When he arrived within a league of Guacacualco, he was met by some chiefs, who informed him in what manner he might best come upon the enemy. Having in consequence settled his plan of attack, he marched against, and after a sharp action defeated the Mexican troops, and put them completely to flight, with the loss on his part, of two horses, and eight wounded. Our allies this day made a great slaughter of the Mexicans, who fell back, and rallied at a large town called Ozucar, where were other great bodies of their troops. Here they made a post, fortifying themselves and breaking down the bridges; but De Oli, turned into a tiger by the reproof of Cortes, pursued them without halting, with as many of his troops as he could bring up. By the assistance of his Indian friends of Guacachula, he contrived to pass the river, and falling on the Mexicans, dispersed them again, with the loss of two more horses killed; his own horse was also wounded in several places, and De Oli himself received two wounds. Here he halted for two days after the action, and all the principal people waited on him, to submit as vassals to his Majesty. Their allegiance being accepted, and the country restored to peace, he returned with his force to the town of Segura de la Frontera.

Not having been on this expedition, the account I have given is such as was related to me, by those who were. De Oli was received by Cortes and all of us with great satisfaction; we laughed heartily at him for his counter march, in which he joined with us, and swore that for the next expedition he was sent on, he would take the poor soldiers of Cortes, and not the rich planters of Narvaez, whose minds were more intent upon their houses and estates, than upon feats of arms; and who were much more ready to command, than to obey. Gomara says that it was the people of Guaxocingo who gave the information to the officers of Narvaez; but this

is absurd, for the last mentioned town was entirely out of their route, and it is exactly the same thing as saying, that if we were to set out now from Medina del Campo to travel to Salamanca, we should go round by Valladolid.

While we were here, Cortes received letters from Villa Rica, whereby he was informed, that a vessel had arrived there commanded by a person of the name of Camargo, having on board upwards of seventy soldiers, all very sickly. She was one of these which had been sent to establish a colony at Panuco,[1] and brought intelligence that the other captain who had been sent thither, named Pineda, with all his soldiers, had been put to death by the Indians; and that their shipping had been burned. Camargo therefore finding the ill success of that attempt, had come to Villa Rica for assistance, his men being afflicted with liver complaints, which their yellow and dropsical appearance demonstrated. This officer was very well acquainted with the situation of affairs, and had been it is said, a Dominican friar. Having disembarked his soldiers, he set out with them, and arrived by slow marches at La Frontera, where they were kindly received by Cortes, and attended with as much care as we could bestow upon them, but the captain and many of the soldiers very soon died. On account of their morbid colour and swollen bodies, we used to call them "the green paunches." In order to avoid the interference of foreign matters with the thread of my narrative, I will now inform my reader, that one after another, at different and irregular periods, all the remains of this armament arrived at the port of Villa Rica. Amongst others was an Arragonian named Miguel diaz de Auz. He brought upwards of fifty soldiers, with seven horses; with which he immediately joined us, being the most effectual reinforcement we had for a long time received. This Captain de Auz served very well during the war in New Spain; it was he who afterwards had a law suit with a brother in law of Cortes, named Andres de Barrios, whom we used to call "the

[1] By F. de Garay governor of Jamaica.

dancer." The law suit was about the division of Mestitan, which was awarded afterwards as follows; he had the surplus of the rents, beyond two thousand five hundred crowns, on condition of not entering upon the district for the space of two years, because he was accused of having killed Indians there, and in other places where he had been. Another of Garay's vessels arrived shortly after at our port. In this came an officer named Ramirez, called by us, "the old." He brought with him forty soldiers, ten horses, cross-bows and other arms. Thus Garay continually sent us reinforcements, thinking that his colony was going on well in Panuco. All these soldiers joined us at Tepeaca. Those who came with Miguel diaz de Auz, as they were plump and in good condition, we named "the Sir loins;" and as the soldiers of old Ramirez wore cotton armour which was very thick and clumsy, so that no arrow could penetrate through it, we called them "the pack-horses."

Cortes having been thus reinforced to the amount of an hundred and fifty soldiers and twenty horses, determined to punish the Cacatame and Xalacingo Indians, with several others who had been concerned in the murders of Spaniards. Twenty cavalry and twelve crossbow-men, made part of the force sent against them, the whole of which consisted of two hundred of the veterans of the army of Cortes, and a body of Tlascalans, commanded by Gonzalo de Sandoval. Our detachment received intelligence that the enemy were in arms, fortified, and reinforced by Mexican troops. Sandoval therefore arranged his plan of attack, first sending to inform them, that he would pardon the deaths of the Spaniards, provided they submitted, and returned the treasure. The answer they sent back was, that they would eat him, and all those with him, in the same manner that they had done the others. Sandoval then proceeded to attack them, which he did in two places at the same instant, and notwithstanding that both the natives and the Mexicans fought with great spirit, they had no better success than on former occasions,

being defeated and pursued with a considerable loss. Our people after the action going into some of their temples, found cloaths, arms, bridles and saddles, presented as offerings to their gods. Sandoval declared his intention of halting three days there, and he also now again demanded from them the treasure which had been taken. They readily submitted themselves to his Majesty, but in regard to the treasure, they said, that it was no longer in their power, having been transmitted to Mexico. Sandoval referred them to the general for their pardons, and returned with his troops, having made a considerable number of women and boys prisoners, all of whom were immediately marked with the iron. I was not on the expedition, being ill of a fever, and throwing up blood at the mouth; but I was bled plentifully, and thanks to God recovered. In consequence of the directions given by Sandoval, the chiefs of these nations, and also of many others in their neighbourhood, came in and made their submissions to Cortes. This expedition was productive of the very best effects. The fame of Cortes extended through all their countries, for valor and for justice, and he was much more dreaded and respected than Guatimotzin, the new sovereign of Mexico; insomuch that his decision was requested in the most important litigations. The small pox was now so prevalent in New Spain, that many of the great lords of the natives died of it. In such cases the claimants to the succession called on Cortes for, and abided by his decision, as sovereign lord of the country. There were at this period great disputes relative to the lordships of Ozucar and Guacachula, which being referred to Cortes he decided the cause in favor of a nephew of Montezuma, whose sister had married the cacique of that district.

At this time Cortes sent Sandoval to punish the people of the district called Cocotlan, where they had put to death nine Spaniards. Sandoval took with him thirty cavalry and one hundred infantry, with a strong body of Tlascalans. On his entry into the district he summoned these people, holding

out as usual threats on the one hand, and invitations on the other, to which the Indians replied, that they acknowledged no other government than that of Mexico, and that they were very well able to defend themselves. They had here a considerable force of Mexican auxiliaries, who encouraged them to resistance. As soon as Sandoval received this message he put his troops in order, and cautioned his allies not to advance to the attack at first, on account of their disordering the cavalry, but to wait until the enemy were broken by our troops, and then to fall on the Mexicans. Two large bodies of the enemy were met by our army, in a strong situation; they made a firm resistance, and before Sandoval could extricate his cavalry from the difficult and rocky ground, they had killed one and wounded nine of his horses and four soldiers. At length having driven them from this post, he advanced to their town, and there assaulting them and the reinforcements which had joined them, at their post in the temples, and large walled inclosures, with the good assistance of his Indian allies, whose keenness was increased by the abundance of plunder, he totally defeated, and put them to flight. Sandoval halted here for two days, during which the chiefs came in and made their submissions. He demanded of them the property and effects of the Spaniards whom they had put to death, but they replied that it was out of their power to return them, they having already burned the whole. They also said that most of the Spaniards they had killed were eaten, five of them having been sent to their monarch Guatimotzin. They promised a plentiful supply of provisions, apologized for what was passed, and Sandoval being able to do no more was fain to accept their submissions.

As all this country was now brought under subjection, Cortes determined, with the approbation of his Majesty's officers to mark the prisoners and slaves, previous to the taking out the royal fifth, and his own. An order was in consequence given out, that the soldiers should bring all

their prisoners to an appointed place, which was a large house in the town, for this purpose. It was accordingly done; they consisted of women, boys, and girls of the Indians, for as to the men they were too troublesome to keep, and our Tlascalan friends to whom they were given by us did us all the service we could desire from them. The prisoners remained in confinement during the night, and in the morning the repartition took place. First the royal fifth was selected, and then that of Cortes; and thus far all went on very well, but when the soldiers shares came to be allotted, behold! we found that some one had been there in the night, and taken every handsome and good Indian that was there, leaving us nothing but a herd of old, ugly, and miserable jades. This of course made a great murmur amongst the soldiers, who loudly charged Cortes with having conveyed away and concealed all the valuable slaves, and the soldiers of Narvaez swore they never heard of such a thing as two kings, and two fifths, in his Majesty's dominions! among the rest one Juan de Quexo said he would make it known in Castille how they were treated, and another plainly told Cortes how he had abused them in regard to the gold in Mexico, for that when the division was made there appeared only three hundred thousand crowns in value, and when our flight took place he produced above seven hundred thousand; all of which had been regularly attested. And now the poor soldier, who had worn himself to nothing with fatigue, and was full of wounds, when he had gotten a good female Indian prisoner, and given her cloathing and ornaments, found that she was taken from him! "When the order was given," said the soldier, "every one thought that the slaves were only put in to be marked and valued, and that each would get his own back, paying the fifth of the value which she was rated at to his Majesty, and that Cortes was to have no farther claim on them whatever." He added a great deal more to the same purpose, but worse than what I have mentioned. When Cortes heard these exclamations against him, he made answer, swearing by his

conscience! his usual oath, that it never should happen so again, and he protested that in future better regulations should be adopted. Thus with smooth words, and fair promises on his part, the affair passed over.

But I have now something to mention worse than this; it has been already related how in the fatal night of the retreat from Mexico, the treasure was produced and all the soldiers given liberty to take as much as they chose of it; many of those of Narvaez loaded themselves with gold, some also of ours did the same; to a great many this cost their lives, and none who escaped with life and what they had carried off, but were severely wounded. After all this however Cortes came to know that in our garrison here at La Frontera, a quantity of gold in bars was in circulation, and that deep gaming was going on amongst our soldiers; wherein our companions had forgot the old proverb which says, that "wealth and amours should be kept concealed." He issued an order for all the gold to be brought in within a given time, under the severest penalty in case of disobedience, promising, on a fair delivery, to return the third part, but threatening in case of failure or evasion, that the whole should be forfeited. Many of the soldiers refused, and from some Cortes took it by way of loan; but indeed rather by main force than free will. As many of the captains and also of those who had offices under his Majesty were possessed of gold, a compromise took place whereby no more was said about the order; but it was a very bad transaction on the part of Cortes.

The officers of Narvaez thought this a good juncture to renew their solicitations to Cortes for permission to return to Cuba. After much trouble and many efforts on their part, Cortes assented, promising that on the conquest of Mexico, he would give his friend Andres de Duero much more wealth than he had ever possessed. He made similar offers also to the other captains, especially to Augustin Bermudez. Those who were determined to return he

ordered to be provided with whatever was necessary for their voyage, such as maize, dogs salted, fowls, &c, and giving them one of the best ships in the harbour, he wrote letters by them to his wife Donna Catalina Xuarez Marcayda, and to his brother in law Juan Xuarez, informing them of all that had happened; and he also transmitted to them by the same opportunity some bars and ornaments of gold. The following persons were among those who returned to Cuba at this time, with their pockets well lined after all their disasters. Andres de Duero, Augustin Bermudez, Juan Buono de Quexo, Bernardino de Quesada, Francisco, Velasquez the hump backed, a relation of the governor of Cuba, Gonzalo Carrasco who returned afterwards to this country and lives in La Puebla, Melchor Velasco, and one Ximenes who lives in Guaxaca: he went for his sons; also the commendador Leon de Cervantes who went to bring over his daughters; after the conquest of Mexico he married them to very honourable connexions; one Maldonado also of Medellin, an invalid; not he who married Donna Maria del Rincon, nor the big Maldonado, nor the other of that name whom we called Alvaro Maldonado "the fierce," who was married to a lady named Maria Arias; there was also one Vargas whom we nicknamed "the gallant;" I do not mean the Vargas who was father in law to Christoval Lobo; Cardenas the pilot also went; it was he who talked of the two kings; Cortes gave him three hundred crowns for his wife and children; with many others whom it would be too prolix to enumerate. When Cortes was remonstrated with on letting so many quit us in our weak state he replied, that he did it partly to get rid of their importunities, and partly because they were not fit for war, and that it was better to be alone than badly accompanied. He sent Alvarado with them in order to see them shipped, and at this time he also dispatched De Ordas and Alonzo de Mendoza to Castille, with certain instructions, the tenor of which we were ignorant of; as we also were of

what was going on in that country relative to us, except that the Bishop of Burgos declared us all traitors, and that Diego de Ordas answered very well for us, and got for himself the order of St. Jago, and for his coat of arms the volcano which is between Guaxocingo and Cholula. But these affairs shall be related in their proper time. Cortes also sent Captain Alonzo de Avila contador of New Spain, and Francisco Alvarez, a man of business, to make a report to the royal court of audience and the brothers of the order of Jerony-mites in St. Domingo, of all that had happened, more particularly relative to Narvaez; and also to inform them, how he had punished by slavery, those guilty of revolt and murders, and meant to pursue the same measures with all those people who adhered to the alliance of the Mexicans. He also supplicated their interests in representing our faithful services to the Emperor, and their support against the misrepresentations and enmity of the Bishop of Burgos.

Cortes likewise at this time sent a vessel to Jamaica for horses, commanded by one De Solis, whom we afterwards called De Solis de la Huerta. Some will ask how he was able to send agents to Castille, to St. Domingo, and Jamaica, without money. To this I reply, that on the night of our retreat from Mexico, though many of our soldiers were killed, yet a considerable quantity of gold was saved, as the first who passed the bridge were, the eighty loaded Tlascalans; so that though much was lost in the ditches of Mexico, yet all was not left there, and the gold which was brought off by the Tlascalans, was by them delivered to Cortes. But as to us poor soldiers who had no command, but were commanded, it was enough for us to escape with our lives, and all badly wounded too, without troubling ourselves what was done with the gold, nor how much of it was brought off; and it was also shrewdly suspected, that the treasure which fell to the share of the garrison of Villa Rica, and of which those who were entrusted with the conveyance were robbed,

went after all to Old Castille, Jamaica and elsewhere. But the ingots of gold in the captains pocket stopped all inquiry upon that head.

The siege of Mexico being now determined on, Cortes left a garrison of twenty men mostly sick and wounded, under the command of Francisco de Orozco in the town of Frontera, and proceeded with the rest of his force to the country of Tlascala, where he ordered timber to be cut for the construction of the vessels to command the lake of Mexico. The ships were to be constructed under the directions of Martin Lopez, an excellent shipwright, and one who was most highly serviceable to his Majesty's interests here in other respects, besides being a valiant soldier. When we arrived at Tlascala, we found that our good friend and the faithful ally of our Monarch, Maxicatzin, had fallen a victim to the small pox. Cortes lamented him as if he had been his father, and put on mourning in respect to him, as did many of our captains and soldiers. As there was some dispute in regard to the succession, Cortes settled that it should be with the legitimate son of our friend, as he had desired at his death; a short time previous to which, having summoned his family into his presence, he had strictly enjoined them never to quit our alliance, as we were undoubtedly those who were destined to rule that country. The other chiefs of that nation offered their assistance in providing timber, and also to aid us in the war against the Mexicans. Cortes received their proposals with every mark of attention and gratitude, and at that time proposed to one of them, the elder Xicotenga, to turn christian; to which he readily assented, and was baptized in great ceremony by the name of Don Lorenzo de Vargas.

Our shipwright Lopez managed his business so well, that in a few days he had all his timber cut, shaped, and marked for each particular part of the vessels. He was assisted by a good soldier named Andres Nunez, and by old Ramirez the carpenter, who was lame with a wound. Cortes obtained from the port of Villa Rica the iron work, sails, and other

HUMAN SACRIFICE AS PRACTICED IN WAR TIME BY AZTEC PRIESTHOOD.

necessaries to equip the vessels; and he also ordered to be sent to him what smiths were there, amongst others, Aguilar, of which name there were three amongst us, but this was the man we called "the iron-mauler." As pitch was wanting, and was unknown to the natives of those countries, he sent four sailors to the pine woods of Guaxacingo, which are very considerable, to obtain a supply of that article. Some curious persons have asked me, why Cortes sent Alonzo de Avila who was so valiant a captain on an affair of negociation, when he had men of business such as Alonzo de Grado, and Juan de Caceres the rich, and others whom they have named to me. To this I reply, that Cortes sent Avila because he was a brave man, and would not be afraid to speak out on any necessary occasion in order to obtain justice; and therefore, to avoid being opposed and thwarted by him, and to give his company to Andres de Tapia, and his office of contador to Alonzo de Grado, Cortes chose to send him upon business to St. Domingo.

Now that the timber of the vessels was all ready for the dock yard, and that those who came with Narvaez no longer molested us with their fears and surmises, there was great difference of opinion amongst us on the subject of establishing our post, in order to prepare for the investment of Mexico. Some strongly recommended Ayotcingo as most convenient on account of the canals, others, amongst whom was Cortes, as strongly insisted on the elegibility of Tezcuco as most advantageous for making incursions upon the Mexican territory. The decision being at length for Tezcuco, just as we were ready to march we were interrupted in our movements for an instant, by intelligence that a vessel had arrived at Villa Rica from Europe and the Canary Islands, loaded with military stores, merchandise, and horses. It was commanded by one Francisco Medel, but the owner of the property, who came with it, was one Juan de Burgos. There were also on board thirteen soldiers. We were in high spirits on receiving this intelligence, and Cortes having

sent orders to purchase the whole cargo, we lost not a moment in setting forward on our route for Tezcuco, after we were joined by the people who came on board the vessel. Amongst these were one Juan del Espinar, afterwards a very rich man, one Sagredo uncle to the woman called La Sagreda, in the Island of Cuba, and a Biscayan named Monjaraz, uncle to two of that name who were soldiers with us, and father to the handsome woman who afterwards came to Mexico called La Monjaraza. This man never was in any expedition or engagement with us, always pretending to be sick, though he missed no opportunity of boasting of his valour. When we besieged Mexico, he said he would see how the natives fought, for he had no opinion of their bravery. He accordingly went to the top of a very high temple like a turret, and no one ever could tell how it was, but certain Indians killed him on that very day. Those who had known him in the Island of St. Domingo said, that it was God's judgment on him for having had his wife, a good, honourable, and beautiful woman, put to death, by the perjury of false witnesses.

Chapter ii.

March of the Spaniards to besiege Mexico, December 28th. 1520. *Investment of Mexico, May 30th.* 1521. *Siege of that city, and final conquest August 16th.* 1521.

On the day after the feast of the nativity, we set forward towards Tezcuco with our full force, and accompanied by ten thousand of our Tlascalan allies. On the same night we halted in a part of the territory of Tezcuco, the inhabitants of the place supplying us with provisions. The next night we halted at the foot of the ridge of mountains, having made a march of about three leagues; we found here a very severe cold. Early the next day we ascended the mountains, the bad roads through which were made more difficult by cuts, or dikes, abbatis of trees, and the like, which required the utmost exertions of our allies to remove. Proceeding thus however with much regularity and precaution, we reached the summit, a company of musqueteers and crossbow-men being in our front, and our allies clearing the way for the cavalry. Descending a little, we came to that part from whence we discover the whole extent of the city, lake, and plain of Mexico, with all its towns rising as it were out of the water, and here we returned thanks to God for permitting us again to behold this city.

We now observed signals made by smoke in the different places towards Mexico, and a little farther on we fell in with a body of the enemy who were posted at a bad pass, where a broken wooden bridge crossed a deep water cut. We soon drove them from thence, and passed over without difficulty, the enemy contenting themselves with shouting at us from a distance. Our allies pillaged as they went along,

contrary to the inclination of Cortes, who was not able to restrain them. We halted for this night at a town in the territory of Tezcuco, which the inhabitants had abandoned. We had got intelligence by some Mexicans we made prisoners in the last skirmish, that large bodies of the enemy waited for us in front; but it afterwards appeared that they had separated, in consequence of feuds, and indeed a civil war which existed between the Mexicans and those of Tezcuco. The small pox also, which was at the same time very destructive in the country, contributed in a considerable degree to prevent their armies from assembling.

On the next morning we again set forward on our march for Tezcuco, which was distant about two leagues; but we had proceeded a very short distance, before one of our patroles came to us with intelligence that ten Indians were on the road, with signs of peace. The whole of the country also through which we marched exhibited every sign of most perfect tranquillity. When these Indians arrived, we found that they composed an embassy, consisting of seven chieftains of Tezcuco. A golden banner borne upon a long lance was carried before them, and when they came near us the banner was lowered, and they bowed their bodies. Addressing Cortes in the name of their lord Cocoivacin, the prince of Tezcuco, they then requested to be received under our protection, inviting us to their city, and presenting to us, as a token of peace, their golden banner. They utterly denied having any part in the attacks with which we had been threatened, and requested that no injury might be done to their city by us or our allies. Three of these embassadors were personally known to most of us, for they were relations of the good Montezuma, and captains of his guards. Cortes earnestly requested the Tlascalan chiefs to prevent their people from pillaging, and his wishes were strictly attended to, excepting only in the article of provisions.

It clearly appeared that this embassy was a mere pretence; nevertheless the embassadors were assured that every protec-

tion should be afforded to the country, but were at the same time told, that it could not be unknown to them, how, above forty of the Spaniards and two hundred of our allies were put to death within their territories, when we retreated from Mexico. For the loss of lives Cortes said no restitution could be made, but the gold and other property they might return. They in reply threw the blame upon the prince who had succeeded Montezuma, and who they said received the spoil, and sacrificed the prisoners. Cortes therefore found that little was to be got from them, and we proceeded to a village in the outskirts of Tezcuco, named Guatinchan, or Huaxutlan, where we halted for the night. On the ensuing morning we arrived at Tezcuco, and immediately remarked that neither women or children were to be seen, and the men appeared as if they were meditating some mischief against us. We took up our quarters in some buildings which consisted of large halls and enclosed courts, and received orders not to quit them, and to be very alert. Alvarado, De Oli, and some soldiers whereof I was one, then ascended to the top of the great temple, which was very lofty, in order to notice what was going on in the neighbourhood. We observed that all the people were in movement, carrying off their children and effects to the woods, the reedy borders of the lake, and to a number of canoes collected for the purpose. Cortes now wished to seize the chief who had sent him the embassy, but found that he had fled to Mexico, with many other persons of rank. We posted strong guards for the night, and as in so large a city there are many different parties and factions, and those persons who were adverse to the present chief having remained, Cortes on the next morning sent for them, and enquired into the state of their government. They assured him that their present chief, Cocoivatzin, was an usurper, having murdered his elder brother Cuscuxca, and was supported only by the prince then on the throne of Mexico, and whose name was Guatimotzin. They pointed out the youth who was the right heir, and who

was immediately conducted into the presence of Cortes, by whose order he was baptized with much solemnity, being called after his godfather, Don Hernando Cortes; after which he was appointed lord of Tezcuco. Cortes in order to retain him in our holy faith and in the interests of Spain, and also to instruct him in our language, ordered three persons to attend upon him; Anthonio de Villaroel married to the handsome Isabel de Ojeda, a batchellor named Escobar captain of Tezcuco, and Pedro Sanches Farfan, a good soldier, married to the worthy and honorable lady Maria de Estrada. Cortes then required of him a number of Indian labourers to open the canals, in order to bring his vessels to the lake. He also explained to him his plan of attacking Mexico, to which the young prince offered assistance to the utmost of his power.

Our captains were at this time assigned their different posts, in case of a sudden attack upon our quarters, the reigning prince in Mexico frequently sending out his troops upon the lake, in expectation of taking us unprepared. Some neighbouring people, whose district is called Guatinchan, and who had been guilty of offences in the murders of our countrymen, now petitioned for, and obtained pardon. The work upon the canals went on most rapidly, as we never had less than from seven to eight thousand Indians employed.

Coadlavaca, late upon the throne of Mexico, was lord of Iztapalapa, the people whereof were bitter enemies to us, and our declared allies of Chalco, Talmalanco, Mecameca, and Chimaloacan. As we had been twelve days in Tezcuco, so large a force caused some scarcity of provisions; idleness had also made our allies grow impatient, and for those reasons it became necessary to take the field. Cortes therefore proceeded towards Iztapalapa at the head of thirteen cavalry, two hundred and twenty infantry, and the whole body of our Indian confederates. The inhabitants had received a reinforcement of eight thousand Mexicans, and as we approached, they fell back into the town. But this was

all a concerted plan; they then fled into their canoes, the reeds by the side of the lake, and also to those houses which were in the water, where they remained quietly, leaving us in possession of that part of the town which was on the firm land. As it was now night we posted our guards, and were reposing contentedly in our quarters, when all on a sudden there came on us such a body of water by the streets and into the houses, that if our friends from Tezcuco had not called to us at that moment, we should have been all drowned; for the enemy had cut the banks of the canals, and also a causeway, whereby the place was laid under water as it were instantaneously. As it happened two of our allies only, lost their lives, but all our powder was destroyed, and we were glad to escape with a good wetting. We passed the night badly enough, being supperless, and very cold; but what provoked us most was the laughter and mockings of the Indians upon the lake. Worse than this however happened to us, for large bodies from the garrison of Mexico, who knew of the plan, crossed the water and fell on us at day break with such violence that it was with difficulty we could sustain their attacks. They killed two soldiers and one of our horses, and wounded a great many. Our allies also suffered a considerable loss on this occasion. The enemy being at length beaten off we returned to Tezcuco, in very bad humour, having acquired little fame or advantage by our expedition.

Two days after our return from our last expedition, the people of three neighbouring districts, viz Tepetezcuco, Obtumba, and another which I do not recollect, sent to sollicit pardon for the offences they had committed, excusing themselves, by alledging the commands of Coadlavaca. Cortes making a merit of necessity gave them a free pardon, knowing very well that he was not in a situation to do otherwise. The people also of that place called Venezuela, or Little Venice, who had always been at enmity with the Mexicans, now sollicited our alliance; a circumstance highly

useful, from the situation of that town within the lake; and they promised also to bring over their neighbours to us.

Intelligence was soon received, that large bodies of Mexican troops had fallen upon the districts in alliance with us, the inhabitants of which being afraid to remain at home, were flying to the woods or to our quarters for protection. Cortes ordered out twenty cavalry and two hundred infantry, twenty three musqueteers and crossbow-men included, and taking Alvarado and De Oli with him, proceeded to the towns of Guatinchan, and Huaxutlan. The reports appeared to have foundation, but the real cause of contention was, the crop of Indian corn on the borders of the lake, which was now fit to reap, and from which the people of Tezcuco and the others supplied our provisions; but the Mexicans also laid claim to it, and it appeared that the produce of these fields went to the priests of Mexico. Cortes told them to inform him when they thought it necessary to cut the corn, and accordingly, at that time, a body of one hundred or upwards of our soldiers, attended by the allies went out to cover the reapers. I was twice on that duty, and had one smart skirmish. The Mexicans crossed over in upwards of a thousand canoes, and attacked us in the maize fields, but we and our allies, drove them back to their boats, with the loss of one soldier of our's killed, and many wounded. They fought like men, and left behind them twenty dead, and we also took five prisoners. At this time other neighbouring districts solicited our alliance.

There were two places, named Chalco and Talmalanco, of some consequence, as being between our army and Tlascala. They were now possessed by the Mexican troops, and though Cortes had several petitions for protection, he thought it necessary above all things, immediately to dislodge these Mexicans, that such of his allies as wished it might return home, and also in order to obtain his ship timber from Tlascala. He therefore sent a force for this purpose under Sandoval and De Lugo, consisting of fifteen cavalry and

two hundred infantry, and he gave these officers orders to break completely the Mexican force, whereby we should obtain a clear communication with Villa Rica. Our allies of Chalco were secretly informed of our intention, in order that they should be ready to support us. Sandoval had put ten of his party in the rear as a guard, and to protect the allies who were returning home with his detachment, and who were loaded with plunder. The Mexicans fell upon them on their march with considerable impression, owing to the weakness of the rear guard, of which they killed two, and wounded the rest; and although Sandoval instantly flew to their relief, the Mexicans contrived to reach the lake. Sandoval censured the people in the rear for this, throwing the whole blame on them; he then put the Tlascalans in security, and having sent the letters with which he was intrusted to the commandant of Villa Rica, in which Cortes ordered him to send what reinforcements he could to Tlascala, there to wait until it should be ascertained that the route from thence to Tezcuco was clear, he dismissed the allies to their province, and returned to Chalco, which district he had reason to apprehend was filled with the troops of the Mexicans.

On his road he was attacked in a plain covered with maize and maguey, by a body of the enemy who wounded several of his party; the cavalry drove them to a distance, after which he pursued his route to Chalco. Having informed the principal people of this place of his intention to march to Tezcuco on the ensuing day, they informed him of their determination to go with him, and for the following reason. Their lord was lately dead of the small pox. He had on his deathbed recommended his sons to the protection of Cortes, being convinced that we were those of whom their ancestors had prophesied, when they said that men with beards should come to govern them; and he therefore enjoined his sons to receive their dominions from the hands of our chief. Sandoval accordingly marched for our head quarters, bringing with him the young lords of Chalco, who

experienced a most gracious reception from Cortes, and they presented him with ornaments of gold amounting in value to about two hundred thousand crowns. Cortes divided the district between them, giving Chalco and the larger part to the elder brother, and Talmalanco, Ayocingo, and Chimalcan, with other places, to the younger. By some Mexican prisoners Cortes sent a message to the reigning prince in that city, couched in the most inviting and amicable terms, in order to induce him to come to an accommodation; but Guatimotzin would not hear them, and persisted in the most active hostility against us. Frequent complaints came to us at this time of the incursions made by the enemy upon our allies of Guatinchan and Huaxutlan, in the neighbourhood of the lake, upon the old cause of the fields sown for the service of the Mexican temples; in consequence of which, Cortes being determined to put a stop to these inroads, and marching with a strong party for that purpose, came up with the enemy at the distance of about two leagues from Tezcuco, and so completely broke and defeated them, though with no very considerable loss on their side, that they did not show themselves there again.

As it was resolved to lose no time in the grand object of our enterprise, Sandoval attended by twenty of the principal people of Tezcuco, marched with a detachment of two hundred soldiers of the infantry, twenty musqueteers and cross-bow-men included, and fifteen cavalry, from Tezcuco, in order to bring the timber to construct our ships on the lake of Mexico. Before they set out, Cortes effected a reconciliation between the Tlascalans and the Indians of Chalco, who had long been hostile. He gave directions to Sandoval, after he had left the chieftains of Chalco in their own town, to proceed by a place named by us Puebla Moresca, the inhabitants of which had robbed and put to death upwards of forty of our soldiers, who were on their march from Vera Cruz to Mexico, when we went to the relief of Alvarado. Sandoval had orders to inflict an exemplary punishment on

them, not that their guilt was more than that of the people of Tezcuco, who were the leaders of the business, but because they could be punished with less inconvenience. The place was put under military execution. Some few of the inhabitants were made prisoners, and when Sandoval enquired of them in what manner they had destroyed the Spaniards, they informed him that they were fallen on by the troops of Mexico and Tezcuco, by surprise, in a narrow pass where they could only go in single file, and that it was done in revenge for the death of Cacamatzin. Not more than three or four of these people lost their lives, as Sandoval had pity on them. In the temples were found many traces of the blood of our countrymen upon the walls, their idols were besmeared with it, and we found the skins of two of their faces with their beards, dressed like leather, and hung upon the altars, as were also the shoes of four horses, together with their skins very well dressed. The following words were found written upon a piece of marble fixed in the wall of one of the houses. "Here was taken the unfortunate Juan Juste, with many others of his companions." This Juste was a gentleman who came with Narvaez, and served in the cavalry. These sad remains filled the minds of Sandoval and his party with rage and grief, but there was no possibility of obeying the dictates of their feelings, for the men were all fled, and the women and children bewailed their fate in the most affecting terms. Sandoval therefore sent them to their husbands and fathers, whom they induced to come in and submit. In answer to the questions put to them relative to the gold, they declared that it had all been claimed by the Mexicans. Sandoval now continued his march to Tlascala, and when he came near the capital of that country, he fell in with a vast body of Indians employed in transporting the timber, and conducted by Chichimecatecle, and our shipwright Martin Lopez. The order these people came in was as follows. Eight thousand men carried the timber ready shaped for every part of the thirteen vessels, eight thousand

more followed as a guard with their ensigns and arms, and a third body of two thousand, as a relief, and with provisions for the whole. Several Spaniards joined us with this escort, and also two great Tlascalan chiefs named Teuleticle, and Teatical. The enemy appeared only in small bodies at a distance, but it was thought necessary to use much precaution, considering the extent of the line of march, and the danger of a surprise. Sandoval sent some of his troops in front, and posted others on the flanks, while he remained at the rear guard with the Tlascalans, to whom he assigned that post. This arrangement gave their chief, Chichimecatecle, great offence, but when he was informed that it was there the Mexicans were most likely to attack, his pride became pacified. In two days more the whole body arrived at Tezcuco, in great triumph and pomp, the allies wearing their finest habits and great plumes of feathers, with drums, horns, and trumpets, sounding. Thus they continued marching into our quarters, without breaking a file, for the space of full half the day, shouting out, "Castilla! Castilla! Tlascala! Tlascala! live his Majesty the Emperor."

Our timber being all now laid ready at the docks, in a very short time, by the great exertions of Lopez, the hulls were completely finished; but we were obliged to keep the strictest guard, as the Mexicans sent three parties to endeavour to set them on fire.

The Tlascalans were anxious to be sent on some enterprise, and Cortes indulged them by declaring his intention to march on the ensuing day to Saltocan, a town which had neglected our summons to a submission. For this purpose he ordered two hundred and fifty infantry and thirty cavalry, the whole of the Tlascalans, and a body of the warriors of Tezcuco. He appointed the captains Alvarado and De Oli to act under him, and having left the post of Tezcuco, where it was always necessary "to have the beard upon the shoulders," under the care of Sandoval, and ordered Lopez to have the vessels ready to launch within the space of

fifteen days, he set out with the above force upon his expedition. When he approached Saltocan, he was met by large bodies of the Mexican troops, whom the cavalry drove to the woods. The troops halted for the night in some villages, in a country thickly inhabited. They were kept very alert, for it was known that the enemy had a considerable force in Saltocan; and a body of Mexicans had been sent thither in large boats, and was at this time concealed in the deep canals of the neighbourhood.

On the ensuing day, at the commencement of the march, our troops were assailed by the enemy, and several were wounded, without our cavalry having it in their power to retaliate, on account of the number of canals. The only causeway which led to the town on the land side, they had completely inundated, and our musquetry was of no effect against the enemy in their canoes, being so well guarded by strong screens of timber. All this contributed to give our people a disgust to the expedition. Some Indians of Tezcuco who had joined our army, at this time pointed out a pass to one our soldiers; upon which, our people put themselves into march, and under the direction of their guide crossed the canals and waters, and at length reached the road which led to the town, Cortes with the cavalry remaining on the other side. Our troops advanced against the town, and made a considerable slaughter of the Mexicans, driving the remainder, and the natives of the place, to their boats. They then returned to Cortes, with a considerable booty of slaves, mantles, salt, and gold. We lost one soldier by this expedition.

On the ensuing day Cortes marched against a large town called Culvatitlan, through a very populous country. We found the place to which we marched totally deserted, and here we halted for the night. On the ensuing day we proceeded to another large town called Tenayuco, but which we named the town of the serpents, on account of the enormous figures of these animals which we found in their temples,

and which they worshipped as gods. This place we also found deserted, and we proceeded a league farther to that which we called the town of the gold-smiths. This place was also deserted, and our troops marched half a league farther, to Tacuba, our soldiers being obliged to cut their way through considerable numbers of the natives. In this town our troops halted for the night, and on the next day they were assailed by bodies of the enemy, who had settled a plan to retreat by their causeways, in order to draw us into an ambuscade. This in part succeeded; Cortes and our troops pursued them across a bridge, and were immediately surrounded by vast numbers on land and in the water. The ensign was thrown over the bridge, and the Mexicans were dragging him to their canoes, yet he escaped from them with his colours in his hand. In this attack they killed five of our soldiers, and wounded many. Cortes perceived his imprudence, and ordered a retreat, which was effected with regularity, our people fronting the enemy, and only giving ground inch by inch. Juan Volante, the ensign who fell into the lake, had a jealousy with one of our soldiers, Pedro de Ircio, about a certain woman. The latter in order to affront him used some abusive language, which Volante did not deserve, being a very valiant gentleman, as he had shown on that and many other occasions. Cortes halted here for five days, and then returned to Tezcuco, the Mexicans harrassing his march; but having been once defeated in an ambuscade which Cortes laid for them, they desisted. When our troops arrived at head quarters, the Tlascalans, who had enriched themselves by plunder, were anxious to go home, which Cortes readily gave them permission to do.

During four days after this expedition, the Indians of several neighbouring districts came in with presents and declarations of submission. Cortes received all in good part, although he knew very well that they had been concerned in murders, dismissing them with promises of protection. Other applications of a more embarrassing nature were also

made at this time, for the nations in our alliance came with painted representations of the outrages committed on them by the Mexicans, and requesting succour. Cortes was hardly able to grant them assistance, from the state of our army, which, exclusive of our loss by killed and wounded was grown very unhealthy. He however promised them his support, but told them to rely more on their own exertions, and that they should be assisted by the neighbouring people of our alliance. For this purpose he gave them letters of summons to the respective districts, to assemble against the common enemy. The different districts having assembled their forces, met the Mexicans in the field, and had an action with them, in which they exerted themselves with success. The province of Chalco however was an object of more importance; the possession of that country was requisite for our communication with Villa Rica and Tlascala, and for the subsistence of our troops, as it was a corn country. It was much harrassed, and therefore Cortes sent Sandoval with about two hundred and fifty of our troops, cavalry and infantry, accompanied by what few of our Tlascalan allies remained with us, and a company of those of Tezcuco, to clear it of the enemy.

On the twelfth day of March, one thousand five hundred and twenty one, after hearing mass, Sandoval set out, and arrived in the district of Chalco. On the ensuing morning he reached Talmanalco, where he received information that the Mexican force was posted at a large town called Guaztepeque. The warriors of Chalco accompanied our troops, who halted for the night at the town of Chimalcan. On the next morning Sandoval ordered the crossbow-men and musqueteers to attack the enemy in the broken ground, and forming the cavalry into small divisions of three in front, directed them to charge as soon as the firing had made any impression; those who were armed with sword and buckler he formed in a compact body as a reserve. Advancing in this order, he shortly perceived the Mexicans in three

large battalians or columns, and sounding their warlike music. As soon as Sandoval perceived their disposition he thought proper to give up his original plan, and to break the enemy by a charge of cavalry. Putting himself therefore at the head of this body of troops, he attacked them, crying out "St. Jago for us! comrades fall on!" The main body of the Mexicans was partly broken by the charge, but they immediately closed and fronted again. The ground was much in their favor, so that Sandoval saw it was absolutely necessary to drive them from this post, into the open ground in their rear. For this purpose he ordered the musqueteers and crossbow-men to engage them in the front, and the troops armed with sword and target to turn their flanks, and he gave directions, that at the proper time, the cavalry should fall on the enemy by a signal. He also now ordered our allies to come forward to the attack. Our troops at last forced them to retreat; they fell back however no farther than to a second strong position, nor could Sandoval with his cavalry do any considerable execution among them. Here we lost Gonzalo Dominguez, whose horse fell with him, whereby he died in a few days. He was much regretted, for we esteemed him to be as brave a soldier as De Oli or Sandoval. Our army having broken the enemy again, pursued them to the town, where they were suddenly attacked by at least fifteen thousand fresh warriors, who attempted to surround them; but our troops falling on both their flanks, the whole faced about and fled, endeavoring to rally behind some works which they had constructed. They were however so closely followed that they had not time to do so, and were driven completely withinside the town. Sandoval then thought it necessary to give his soldiers some repose, and as a considerable spoil of provisions had fallen in the way of the troops, they began to prepare their dinners, during which time the patroles came galloping in, crying "To arms! the enemy are coming!" There was hardly a moments interval until they were prepared, and

advancing against the enemy, they met them in an open space, and had a severe skirmish, after which the enemy fell back behind their works; but Sandoval attacked them with such impetuosity that he drove them completely away, forcing them to evacuate the town.

In this place was a very magnificent and extensive garden, in which Sandoval took his quarters for the night, and certainly it was a beautiful one to behold; it contained a number of large and handsome buildings, and such varieties that it was truly admirable, and fit for the residence of a great prince; nor had our soldiers time to see the whole of it, for it was above a quarter of a league in length. I was not in this action, being very ill by the wound of a lance, which I received in my throat at the affair of Iztapalapa, the marks of which I carry to this day; but I saw the garden about twenty days afterwards, when I accompanied Cortes. Not having been on this expedition for the reason I have before assigned, as I was then almost at death's door, I do not in my narrative say we, and us, but they, and them; but notwithstanding that, all is true to the letter as I have related it, for the transactions of an expedition are immediately known in quarters, nor is there any opportunity of adding to, or diminishing the truth, as is sometimes the case elsewhere.

Sandoval thought it a good time to summon all the neighbouring districts to submission, which he accordingly did, but with very little effect, those of Acapistlan, especially, answering by a defiance. This made our allies of Chalco uneasy, as well knowing that they and the Mexicans were only waiting until the return of the Spaniards, in order to fall upon them. For several reasons it was necessary therefore to humble these people, but a great difference of opinion existed on the subject. Sandoval was adverse to any new expedition on account of the number of his wounded, and the soldiers of Narvaez were adverse, because they disliked risques of any kind; but our allies were for it, and Captain Luis Marin, a wise and valiant officer, strongly supported

them. As the distance was but two leagues Sandoval acquiesced. When he advanced, the enemy attacked him with their missile weapons, and after wounding some of his men, returned to their strong post in the town. Our allies did not exhibit much alacrity in going to the attack, in which the Spaniards were obliged to shew them the way, and dismounting some of the cavalry, and leaving the rest in the plain to guard the rear, they advanced against the place, which they entered, having a number wounded in the ascent, and amongst others Sandoval himself. But if the Indians were tardy before, they made up for it now; the Spaniards not having the trouble of putting the enemy to death, it being entirely saved them by their allies. Indeed our countrymen thought their time employed to much better purpose in searching for gold, or making good female prisoners, than in cutting to pieces a parcel of poor wretches who did not any longer defend themselves. They frequently blamed the cruelty of their allies, and saved many Indians from them. Gomara says that the Spaniards suffered thirst here because the water was not to be drank, on account of the quantity of blood with which it was discoloured; the fact is, that many of the wounded Mexicans did come from the rocks and ridges down to the water in making their escape, and it was discoloured the length of time that it would take to say an Ave Maria, but as to our people suffering thirst on that account, that must be untrue, for there were several fountains of the finest water, in the town.

After this success Sandoval returned to Tezcuco, with a number of slaves and considerable spoils. Guatimotzin the reigning prince of Mexico was enraged when he heard of the hostilities committed against him by his own people of Chalco, and determined to inflict immediate punishment. He now sent across the lake twenty thousand of his warriors in two thousand canoes, to waste the province with fire and sword, so that at the very moment when the brave Sandoval had arrived at head quarters, and before he could make the

report of his expedition to the general, there arrived expresses from Chalco stating their being in a more desperate situation than ever. This put Cortes in a violent passion with Sandoval, thinking that he had been the cause of this misfortune; and thus, without hearing him out, when he came to wait upon him, he commanded his instant return. This gave Sandoval pain, thinking that he was unworthily treated by Cortes. However he was obliged to return to Chalco. On his arrival he found the business entirely over, for the people of that province had summoned their allies, and repulsed the Mexicans, so that our countrymen returned with the prisoners to head quarters. Cortes was delighted when he heard the event, but Sandoval would not speak to him. The general made every apology, and protested that the whole was owing to a mistake, however, it is unnecessary to say any more upon the subject, as they shortly after became as good friends as ever.

At this time, according to a general proclamation, the Indian slaves were brought together in order to be marked. The reader is already acquainted with the transactions at Tepeaca. It was if possible worse now at Tezcuco. First there was a fifth for his Majesty, then another fifth for Cortes, and then the shares of the captains. What was worst, most of the good female slaves had disappeared during the night! it had been promised that they should be rated, and the proprietor charged according to the value; but the royal officers or commissaries valued them as they thought proper, so that the poor soldier fell from bad to worse. The consequence of this was, that in future, to avoid losing them thus, the soldiers concealed their slaves or passed them as servants and not prisoners of war, and those who were in favor with Cortes brought them to be marked privately and paid the value to him. Those slaves who fell to the lot of such masters as treated them ill, or had the name of doing so, immediately deserted and were no more to be found; but the owners always remained debtors for so much upon

their value in his Majesty's books, so that many were in debt more than their share of prisage of gold could pay off.

At this time arrived a ship, with arms and gunpowder, from Old Castille, in which came Julian de Alderete treasurer for the crown; he was from Tordesillas, as was also Orduna the elder, who, after the conquest, brought over five daughters whom he married very honorably. A brother of the order of St. Francis also came; he was named Fra Pedro Malgarejo de Urrea. He brought with him a number of bulls of our lord St. Peter, in order to compose our consciences if we had any thing to lay to our charge on account of the wars. The reverend father made a fortune in a few months, and returned to Castille. Anthonio Carajaval who now lives in Mexico, though very old, Geronymo Ruiz de la Mora, one Briones, who was about four years afterwards hanged in Guatimala for sedition, Alonzo Diaz de la Reguera now living in Valladolid, and many others came by this vessel. We now learned that the Bishop of Burgos had no longer any power, his Majesty having been displeased with his conduct ever since he knew of our eminent services. Another message arrived at this moment from Chalco for assistance against the Mexicans, upon which Cortes gave his promise that he would immediately march thither, although the brigantines were now ready to launch, and the soldiers were anxious to begin the siege of Mexico.

Cortes, leaving the town of Tezcuco to the care of Sandoval, set out after mass, upon his expedition, to clear the district of Chalco, and reconnoitre the country adjacent to the lake, on friday the fifth of April, one thousand five hundred and twenty one, at the head of three hundred infantry, twenty crossbow-men and fifteen musqueteers included, and thirty cavalry, with a large body of the auxiliaries of Tezcuco and Tlascala. The general was accompanied by the treasurer Alderete, Fray Pedro Melgarejo, the captains Alvarado, De Oli, and Tapia, and in this expedition I also went. The first night we halted at Talmanalco, and on the

next day reached Chalco, whither Cortes summoned all the chiefs, and informed them of his intention immediately to attack Mexico, requiring their assistance, which they most readily promised. On the next day, Cortes continuing his march, arrived at the town of Chimalacoan, in the same province, where above twenty thousand warriors had assembled to meet us. From the time of my first arrival in this country, I never had seen so many of our allies in one body. They were those of Chalco, Guaxocingo, Tlascala, Tezcuco, and other places, and they certainly were attracted by the hope of spoil, and a voracious appetite for human flesh, just as the scald crows and other birds of prey follow our armies in Italy, in order to feed on the dead bodies after a battle.

We here received intelligence, that the Mexican forces and their allies of that neighbourhood, were ready and in the field. Cortes therefore warned us to be alert, and early the next morning after mass, as we proceeded on our march, our route being between two ridges of rocks the summits of which were fortified and garrisoned, the enemy endeavored by outcries and reproaches to draw us to an attack; but we pursued our march, by a large town named Guaztepecque, which we found abandoned, and passing through, we arrived at a plain where were some very scanty fountains of water, and hard by was a great rock with a fortress on the summit. We observed it to be filled with troops, who saluted us on our approach with shouts, showers of stones, and arrows, by the first discharge of which they wounded three of our soldiers. Cortes then ordered us to halt, and observing that the Mexicans seemed to despise us for not attacking them, he sent a party of cavalry to examine the rock. On their return they told the general, that no part seemed to them so accessible as that where we then were. Cortes then ordered us to ascend, Ensign Christoval del Corral with the colours leading us, and Cortes with the cavalry remaining in the plain to protect the rear.

When we began to ascend the mountain, the Indians threw

down large masses of rock, and it was dreadful to see them roll among us, and a wonder how any of us escaped, as they bounded over us. The order was a very inconsiderate one, and very unlike a wise captain. One soldier though he wore a helmet was killed at my foot; he never uttered a word; his name was Martin Valenciano. As we continued to ascend, the stones still came rolling down upon us, and two more soldiers, one named Gaspar Sanches, nephew to the treasurer of Cuba, and the other named Bravo, were the next who lost their lives, and immediately after, Alonzo Rodriguez was killed, and two more knocked down. Most of the rest received wounds, but still we ascended. I was at that time an active young man, and followed close to our ensign, taking advantage of the concavities that we found from time to time in the rock. Corral was wounded in the head, his face covered with blood, and the colours tattered to pieces. "Oh signor Bernal Diaz del Castillo" said he to me, "here is no advancing; remain under cover, for it is as much as I can do to keep my hold, and preserve myself from falling." Looking downward I at this time perceived Pedro Barba captain of the crossbow-men, with two soldiers, climbing up as we had done under the cover of the projections in the face of the rock. I called to him not to advance, for that it was impossible to climb much farther. He replied in lofty terms, that I should desist from talking, and proceed on. I was a little piqued at this, and exerting my utmost activity, mounted to a considerable distance higher, telling him I should see how he would do. At this moment a shower of large rocks came down, and crushed one of the soldiers who were with Barba to death; after having seen which he did not stir a step. Corral called out to those below desiring them to report to the general the impossibility of proceeding, and that even the descent was full of danger. When Cortes was informed of this, for he could not see us on account of the inequalities of the rocks, and understood that most of us were wounded and many killed, a circum-

stance which he could the readier believe from having had three of the cavalry killed on the plain by the rolling down of the masses of rocks, seven also being wounded in the same manner, he gave signals for us to descend, which we accordingly did, in a very bloody and bruised condition, leaving eight of our party dead.

Bodies of the Mexicans were watching us during this time, concealed in different places, in order to fall upon us when we were engaged in the attack, for it was a concerted plan. They now shewed themselves, and advanced against us; we attacked them in the plain and drove them to some other ridges of rocks, and advancing through narrow passes like roads between them, we found another very strong fortress similar to that we had just been repulsed from. We now desisted for the present, and returned to our former position, in order to procure water, the men and horses not having drank during the whole day. We found some springs at the foot of the rock, but the numbers of the enemy had drained them, and left nothing but mud. We then proceeded to the other fortress which we had observed; there was a distance of about a league and a half between the two. Here, in a grove of mulberry trees we found a fountain, but very scanty of water, and under these trees we halted for some time. At the foot of the rock whereon the fort was, stood a small village. The people above began at our approach to shoot at us, and appeared in much more considerable numbers than in the former place, and their situation was such that no shot from us could take effect upon them. For some distance from the level ground, there was an appearance of paths up the rock, but it altogether presented extreme difficulties.

On the ensuing day we attacked, our principal body climbing the rock very slowly and with great fatigue, nor could we have ever ascended to the works, for they were wounding and destroying us by rolling down masses of rock on our heads, but that fortunately for us there was within shot of

the post another rock which commanded it, and to this all our fire arms and crossbow-men were detached; and although they were rather too far off to have much effect, yet having killed several of the enemy over their ramparts, it threw them off their defence, and they offered to submit. Cortes called for five of their chiefs to descend, and reprehending them for having been the aggressors, he told them that he would pardon them on condition that they induced those who were in the other fortress to give themselves up, which they undertook to do. Cortes then ordered the two captains Juan Xaramillo and Pedro de Ircio, and the ensign, Corral, to ascend to the fort which had been surrendered, bidding me accompany them, and he at the same time warned us not to touch a single grain of maiz. This expression I considered as implying that we should do ourselves what good we had in our power. We found it to consist of an extensive plain on the summit of a perpendicular rock; the entrance was by an aperture not much larger than twice the size of the mouth of an oven. It was completely filled with men, women, and children, but they had not a single drop of water, and about twenty of their warriors were killed, and many wounded. Their property was all packed up in bales, and here was also a considerable tribute, collected in order to be sent to Mexico. I had brought four of my Indian servants with me, and began to load them, and also four of the natives; upon which Captain De Ircio came and told me to lay down the packs immediately, or he would report me to the general, asking if I had not heard his orders not to touch a grain of maize. I replied that I had heard the orders that the maize should not be taken, and that was the reason why I took the packages; but he would not suffer any of it to go, and on our return reported me to Cortes, expecting that I should receive blame; but Cortes was not so disposed, saying on the contrary, that he was sorry I had not got the spoil, and that the dogs should keep their property, and laugh at us, after all the mischief which they had done.

De Ircio on this wished to return thither; but Cortes told him that the time did not then admit of it. By this, the chiefs had arrived from the first fortress, the garrison of which agreed to submit, and we returned, being compelled by want of water, to the town of Guaztepeque, where was the noble garden I have before mentioned. In this garden our whole force lodged for the night; I certainly never had seen one of such magnificence, and Cortes and the treasurer Alderete, after they had walked through and examined it, declared that it was admirable, and equal to any that they had ever seen in Castille.

On the ensuing day we marched for Cuernabaca. The Mexicans who were in that town came out and attacked us, but we defeated and drove them to a town named Tepuztlan, which we took by surprise, making a great booty of Indian women, and other spoils. Cortes summoned the chiefs three or four times, to submit, and on their refusal to come in, and in order to strike terror into others, set fire to about one half of the houses. At this time the chiefs of a district named Yauhtepeque came to wait on Cortes and make their submission. On the next day we arrived at the large town of Cuernabaca, or Coadlavaca, in a very strong situation, on account of a deep ravine caused by a rivulet which runs at the depth of at least forty feet, although there is not much water, and which precluded all access to the town except by two bridges, which the inhabitants had broken upon our approach. Cortes however being informed that about half a league higher up was a passage practicable for the cavalry, went thither with them, and we all searched for passes, and at length discovered a very dangerous one, over some trees which hung across from the two opposite sides of the ravine. About thirty of us, and many Tlascalans, made our way over, by the help of those trees, with great difficulty, three fell into the water, and one broke his leg. It was indeed a truly frightful attempt; I for a time entirely lost my sight, from the depth and danger. We who got over, falling on the

flank and rear of the enemy unexpectedly, and being just then joined by part of our cavalry who had crossed a bridge which was not entirely destroyed, now drove the enemy from this post, to the neighbouring woods and rocks. In the town we found considerable property, and here we were again lodged in a large garden, belonging to the lord of the district. A deputation of twenty of the principal Indians waited on Cortes, apologizing for the hostilities committed, the blame of which they threw on the Mexicans, offering to submit themselves and observing, as I recollect, that their gods had been permitted by ours to punish them.

Suchimileco, the object of our march, is a large city on the fresh water lake, in which most of the houses are built. As it was late when we set out from Coadlavaca, and the weather excessively sultry, our troops suffered dreadfully from the want of water, not a drop whereof was to be met with on our route. Our allies fainted on the road in numbers; one of them died, and also one of our soldiers. Cortes seeing the distresses of the army, halted under some pine trees, and sent a party forward to seek for relief. When I saw them about to set off, my friend Christoval de Oli being one of them, I brought three of my Indian servants with me, and followed the party, which they observing, halted in order to make me return, but I was resolved, and De Oli at last assented, telling me I must expect to fight my way. About half a league in front were some villages on the side of a ridge. The cavalry went thither and found water in the houses, and one of my servants brought me from thence a large jar, which they use in that country, full of water. I then determined to return, for the inhabitants of the village had begun to take the alarm. I found Cortes just setting forward on his march, and gave him and the captains a hearty draught each out of the jar, which my servants carried very well concealed, for thirst considers itself before any one. We arrived at the villages and found water, though not much; the sun was then near setting, and our

cavalry came in and reported that the whole country was in movement against us; we therefore halted here. I was on the night guard, and recollect that it was very windy and rainy. Several of our soldiers were taken ill with inflammations in the mouth and throat, from eating a species of thistle or artichoke, to quench their thirst.

Early the next morning we pursued our route, and about eight o'clock arrived at Suchimileco. I can give no idea of the number of the enemies troops which were gathered here, they were in such vast bodies. They had broken down the bridge which was in front, and fortified themselves with parapets and pallisades; their leaders were armed with swords which they had taken from us in the fatal night of Mexico, and which they had polished and made very bright. The attack lasted for half an hour at the bridge. Some of our people passed the water by swimming, and some lost their lives in it. What was worst, several bodies fell on our flanks and rear. When our cavalry had got on firm ground, with the loss of two more of our soldiers killed, we drove them before us, but a reinforcement of at least ten thousand Mexicans just then arrived, and received the charge of our cavalry, four of whom they wounded. Here the good chesnut horse which our Cortes rode tired under him amongst a croud of the enemy, who pulled or knocked the general down, with the intention of taking him alive; more crouds now gathered about him, and were hurrying him off, but a body of our Tlascalan allies headed by the brave Christoval de Olea came to his rescue, and remounted him, though he was severely wounded in the head. Olea also received three desperate wounds from the swords of the enemy.

As all the streets of the town were full of Mexican troops, we were obliged to divide into bodies and fight separately; but those who were nearest, knowing by the outcry and noise that it was very serious in that part where Cortes commanded, hurried thither, and found him with about fifteen

of the cavalry in a very embarrassed situation, among the canals and parapets. We then forced the enemy to give ground, and brought off our Cortes and Olea. On first passing the bridge, Cortes had ordered the cavalry in two divisions, to clear our flanks. At this time they returned to us, every one of them wounded, and reported that the numbers were such that their efforts were unavailing.

We were in an enclosed court, dressing our wounds with burnt oil, and tearing cloth to bind them, when the cavalry came in; and in a short time after, such a volley of arrows came among us that very few escaped unhurt. We now, together with the cavalry, sallied out among the enemy, and used our swords to such effect that they left a considerable number behind them on the ground; our loss being, one man and two horses killed. Having now a little breathing time, for the enemy desisted from their attempt to storm our post, Cortes brought his troops to the large enclosures where were the temples of the Indians, and some of our party going to the top, which commanded Mexico and the whole lake, perceived above two thousand canoes coming from the city against us full of troops. A body of ten thousand men also marched on the land side, to attack us on that night, and another body of ten thousand was in readiness as a relief. All this we learned from five of the chiefs whom we made prisoners. We posted strong guards at those places where the enemy were to disembark, the cavalry were in readiness to act upon the roads and firm ground, and constant patroles were kept going during the night. I and ten more soldiers were posted as a guard upon a wall of lime and stone, which commanded one of the landing places. While we were on the watch, we heard a noise which we knew to be occasioned by the approach of a party of the enemy. We were prepared, and beat them off, sending one of our soldiers to make a report to Cortes. The enemy returned in a very short time, and attacking us again, knocked down two of our party, and then drew off to attempt a landing at another

place, which was a small gate upon a deep canal. The night was very dark, and as these people are not accustomed to fight during that season, it appeared that their two armies fell into confusion, and contrary to the orders they received, formed in one body, making at least fifteen thousand men.

I must now speak of myself, not meaning it however in the way of boast. When our report reached Cortes, he came to us with ten of the cavalry, and as he approached without speaking, I challenged, "who goes there?" and getting no answer, I and my comrade, one Gonzalo Sanchez a Portuguese of Algarve, sent three or four shots at them. Cortes knowing our voices observed to those with him, that this post required no visiting, for we were two of his veterans. He then remarked to us that our station was a dangerous one, and turning about without saying any more, he continued his rounds. I afterwards heard that one of Narvaez's soldiers was whipped for negligence on this night.

Our powder being all exhausted, Cortes ordered us to prepare a good store of arrows, which we were employed during the night in heading and feathering, under the directions of Pedro Barba the captain of the crossbow-men. At day break the enemy attacked us, but without much success; for we killed several of their leaders, and took many of them prisoners, with the loss of but one Spaniard killed. Our cavalry who had advanced, fell in with the Mexicans, and not being strong enough to attack them, sent back for assistance; on which the whole of our force sallied out. We charged and defeated the enemy, and made several prisoners, who informed us of the plan of the Mexicans to wear us out by incessant attacks. We therefore determined to quit that place on the ensuing day. In the interim, our troops and allies having intelligence of the wealth which was in the town, got some of the prisoners to point out to them the houses that contained it, the approach to which was by a causeway with small bridges over the canals, for they stood on the fresh water lake. From these they returned loaded

with cotton cloths and other valuables, and this example induced others to follow it. Unfortunately, while thus employed, a body of Mexicans in canoes came upon them, and wounding many, seized four soldiers of the company of Captain De Monjaraz, alive, and hurrying them into their vessels, carried them to Mexico in triumph. From these men Guatimotzin the King of Mexico was informed of the smallness of our numbers, and our great loss in killed and wounded. After having questioned them as much as he thought proper, he commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and in this lamentable condition sent them through many districts of the neighbourhood, as a sample of what he expected to do by us all, and after having thus exhibited them through the country they were put to death. The ensuing morning afforded opportunity for fresh attacks upon us, as had been regularly the case for the four days during which we staid in Suchimelco.

Previous to our march, Cortes drew his troops to an open place a little out of the town, where the market was held. Here he formed us, and then made a speech, wherein he dwelt upon the dangers we had to go through in our retreat, and the great bodies of the enemy that waited us on the road; for which reason, he strongly insisted on the necessity of leaving all the luggage behind; but we replied that we were men able to defend our properties, our persons, and his also; and that it would be very paltry in us to abandon what we had acquired. When he saw our determination, he put us in order for the march, the baggage in the center, and the cavalry forming the advanced and rear guard; and it was protected also by our crossbow-men, for as to our musquetry it was useless from want of powder. The enemy attacked us upon our retreat, pursuing us as far as Cuyocan. There were in this neighbourhood clusters of towns, each of considerable magnitude, built in the water, at the distance of two leagues from Mexico, and about a league and an half from each other. They amounted to above ten in number.

It was the inhabitants of all those who had joined together at this time to attack us; their names were Suchimelco, Cuyoacan, Chohuilobusco, Iztapalapa, Coadlavaca, Mesquique, and others. We halted for two days at Cuyoacan, which we found abandoned, attending the wounded, and making arrows for our crossbows. On the third morning we set out upon our march for Tacuba, and were attacked as usual, but our cavalry drove the enemy to their ditches and canals.

Cortes at this time determined to lay an ambuscade, and accordingly set out with ten of the cavalry and four servants. He soon fell in with a party of Mexicans who fled before him, and imprudently pressing them too far, a large body of their warriors started out upon him, and in their first attack wounded all the horses, and getting two of the attendants of Cortes in their hands, carried them to Mexico to be sacrificed, the rest having a most narrow escape. Our main body reached the head quarters at Tacuba with the baggage in safety, and not hearing any thing of Cortes or his party of cavalry, we suspected some misfortune. Alvarado, De Oli, Tapia, I, and some more therefore went in search of him, towards that part whither we saw them go, and we soon met two of his servants, who informed us of what had happened. In a short time Cortes came up to us; he was very sad, and weeping.

When we arrived at our quarters at Tacuba it rained heavily, and we remained under it for two hours in some large enclosed courts. The general, with his captains, the treasurer, our reverend father, and many others of us, mounted to the top of the temple which commanded all the lake, and afforded a most surprising and pleasing spectacle, from the multitude of cities rising as it were out of the water, and the innumerable quantity of boats employed in fishing, or rapidly passing to and fro. All of us agreed in giving glory to God, for making us the instruments of rendering such services: the reverend father also consoled Cortes, who was very sad on account of his late loss. When we con-

templated the scenes of what had happened to us in Mexico, and which we could well trace from where we stood, it made Cortes much more sad than before. It was on this that the romance was written which begins,

"In Tacuba was Cortes, with many a gallant chief,
He thought upon his losses, and bowed his head with grief."

One of our soldiers, the bachelor Alonzo Perez, who was afterwards fiscal near Mexico, in order to console him, observed, that those things were the common fortune of war, and that they could not at present compare him to Nero viewing Rome on fire. Cortes answered that he was only sad from the reflection of the dangers and fatigues that we should have to go through, but that he would shortly put his hand to the business. Our captains and soldiers now consulted, whether it would not be eligible to take a view of the causeway, but it was thought not prudent, and we continued our march by Escapuzalco, which was abandoned, to Tenayuca, where, in the great temple, they worshipped three serpents. From this place, which was also abandoned, we proceeded to Guatitlan, and during the whole days march it never ceased raining; whereby, together with the weight of our arms, we came in dreadfully fatigued.

The enemy gave us some alarms in the night, during which it rained heavily, no watch being kept by us on account of the severity of the weather, as I can testify, my post not having been visited either by rounds or corporal. Marching through four or five towns which were abandoned, by a road deep in mud, we arrived in two days more at Aculman in the district of Tezcuco, where we found that a reinforcement to our army had newly arrived from Castille. On the next day we proceeded to Tezcuco, and arrived fatigued, worn out, and diminished in numbers.

A conspiracy against the life of Cortes was at this time formed, by an adherent of the governor of Cuba, one Anthonio de Villafana, native of Zamora or of Toro, and some

of the other soldiers of Narvaez, whose names I will not mention. The assassination was to have been executed in the following manner. A vessel having lately arrived from Castille, a letter was to be brought to the general, as from his father, and as if it had come by that opportunity; which letter was to be delivered as he sat at table with his officers and soldiers, and when he had opened, and was in the act of reading it, the conspirators were to fall on and assassinate him with their poinards, together with all of us who were in his company. When every thing was arranged, the conspirators communicated their intentions to two principal persons whom I will not name, but who had been on the expedition with us, one of whom on the death of Cortes they meant to have appointed captain general. The offices of alguazil major, ensign, alcaldes, regidor, contador, treasurer, veedor, and others of this kind were to have been filled up from among the soldiers of Narvaez, and they had divided amongst them our properties and horses. The business was discovered two days after our arrival at Tezcuco, by God's mercy, who did not chuse that New Spain should have been so lost; for if we had been put to death, all would have fallen into confusion and faction.

It seems a faithful soldier made the discovery to Cortes, who immediately took proper steps to prevent the mischief from spreading, for he understood it to be conducted by persons of quality. As soon as it was made clear to him, he gave large rewards for the information. He then communicated it to all our captains, namely, Alvarado, De Lugo, De Oli, Sandoval, and Tapia, also to me, and to the two Alcaldes of that year, Luis Marin, and Pedro de Ircio; in short to all of his party. As soon as we knew of it we prepared ourselves, and attended Cortes to the quarters of Villafana, where we found him and many others of the conspirators. The four alguazils seized Villafana; the others attempted to escape by flight, but Cortes ordered them to be detained, and some of them he committed to prison. Cortes then took

from the bosom of Villafana a paper, with the signatures of those who were concerned with him, in consideration for whom however, he caused the report to be circulated, that it had been swallowed by Villafana, without his having seen it. He was immediately put upon his trial, but voluntarily made a confession, according to which, and to the testimony of many witnesses, he was condemned by his judges, the two alcaldes, conjointly with Cortes, and De Oli who sat by virtue of his office. Shortly after his condemnation, having confessed himself to the reverend Father Juan Diaz, he was hanged from a window of the apartment.

Of the several others who were arrested, no more were proceeded against; enough having been done for example and intimidation. Cortes however to prevent such attempts in future thought it prudent to appoint a guard for his person, composed of valiant and faithful soldiers. They were selected from those who had been with him from the first, and were commanded by a gentleman named Anthonio de Quinones. Henceforward, although he showed great attention to those who had been in the conspiracy, and treated them in the best manner, he took care to be on his guard with them.

At this time came out an order for all the prisoners to be brought to an appointed place, in order to be marked. Not to take up time with repetitions of the story I will sum up all in one observation which is, that if what was ill done the first time, was worse done the second, this third was worst of all; for after the royal fifth had been drawn out, Cortes took his own, and then came no less than thirty successive drafts for the captains. Besides, those handsome and good female prisoners which we put in to be marked were stolen out of the crowd, and were kept concealed until it was no longer inconvenient to produce them.

The brigantines were now finished, and the canal brought to a sufficient width and depth to float them to the lake. Cortes therefore issued a circular notice to all the districts of

our alliance in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, to send him each within the space of the next eight days, eight thousand arrow heads made of copper; also an equal number of shafts, of a particular wood. By the expiration of the given time the whole number was brought, executed to a degree of perfection which exceeded the pattern. Captain P. Barba who commanded the crossbow-men ordered each of his soldiers to provide themselves with two cords and nuts, and to prove the range of their bows, for one of the last ships which came from Castille had brought out a supply of the materials to make cords, and also of powder. Cortes ordered the cavalry to have their lances well pointed, and to use their horses to daily exercise; and he at this time sent an express to Xicotenga the elder, otherwise Don Lorenzo de Vargas, for twenty thousand of the warriors of his nation, and those of Guaxocingo and Cholula; and he sent similar notices to Chalco and Talmalanco, summoning them to a general rendezvous, on the day after the feast of the Holy Ghost, at which time Don Hernando our ally of Tezcuco was also to join us with all his forces.

On the day after the festival of the Holy Ghost, Cortes inspected his army in the large quadrangles of Tezcuco. They amounted to eighty four cavalry, six hundred and fifty infantry with sword and buckler or lances, and one hundred and ninety four musqueteers and crossbow-men. Out of this number he took for the service of his fleet twelve of the musqueteers or crossbow-men, and twelve of the other infantry for rowers, under the command of a captain, to each vessel; he also distributed twenty cannoniers through the whole fleet, which he armed with what guns fit for this service we had in our stores.

Having thus distributed his force, Cortes gave the following orders. First, no person to utter any blasphemy against our Lord Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin his mother, the Holy Apostles, nor any other of the saints, under heavy penalties. Second, no soldier to ill treat our allies in their persons or

properties. Third, no soldier to absent himself from his quarters on any pretence. Fourth, every soldier to be fully provided with arms offensive and defensive. Fifth, no soldier to stake his horse or arms at gaming. Sixth, no soldier to sleep out of armour, or without his weapons beside him, except in case of wounds or sickness. Lastly, penalty of death for sleeping on, or absence from a centinels post, absence from quarters without leave, quitting the ranks in the field, or flight in battle.

Although a number of our people had served as sailors before, there was a great averseness on the present occasion among them to act as rowers. The general was therefore obliged to make enquiry, and considering all those who belonged to, or were natives of Palos, Moguer, Triano, El Puerto, or any other seaport, or who had been known to have been employed in fishing, as being of the profession, he ordered them to the oars, and although many of these brought their gentility as an objection, he would not hear of it, but enforced his orders; by which he obtained one hundred and fifty, who were, as it will appear in the sequel, better situated than any of us who had to bear the weight and dangers of the field. The crews being embarked, each brigantine hoisted a royal standard, and also its peculiar one. The general then appointed the captains as follows: Garci Holguin, Pedro Barba, Juan de Limpias Carvajal the deaf, Juan Xaremillo, Geronymo Ruiz de la Mora, Carvajal his companion who is now very old and lives in the street of St. Francis, one Portillo, a good soldier with an handsome wife, Zamora, master of a ship, now living in Guaxaca, Colmenero a mariner and brave soldier, Lerma, Gines Nortes, Briones native of Salamanca, another whose name I have forgotten, and Miguel diaz de Auz. To these he gave instructions how they were to act, and with what officers of the land forces they were to cooperate.

At this time arrived the army of our allies of Tlascala under the command of the younger Xicotenga. He brought

with him his two brothers. In this army also came some of the warriors of Cholula, and Guaxocinga, but not in any considerable number. The alacrity of the whole body appeared in their arrival a day previous to that appointed; they advanced in great parade, each chief having a standard with their national device, a white spread eagle, embroidered upon it. They entered the town in high spirits, shouting "Castilla! Castilla! Tlascala! Tlascala! live the Emperor!" and it was about three hours from the time of the arrival of their advanced party, until the rear had come in. Cortes, with many compliments, dismissed them to their quarters, and promising to make them all rich on their return to their native country. We now heard that the Mexicans had put to death three of our soldiers who had been left by Pizarro to search for mines, one only, named Barrientos, escaping to Chinanta, where he was protected.

Our general made his disposition for the attack upon the city of Mexico as follows.

Pedro de Alvarado, with one hundred and fifty infantry, thirty cavalry, eighteen musqueteers and crossbow-men, and eight thousand Tlascalans was to take post at Tacuba, having to assist him Jorge de Alvarado his brother, Gutierre de Badajos, and Andres de Monjaras, each of whom was captain of a company, consisting of fifty infantry, and a third of the crossbow-men and musqueteers, the cavalry being commanded by Alvarado in person. To this detachment I was appointed.

Christoval de Oli, having under him the captains Andres de Tapia, Francisco Verdugo, Francisco de Lugo, thirty cavalry, one hundred and seventy five infantry, twenty musqueteers and crossbow-men, and eight thousand Indians was to take post at Cuyoacan, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, with captains Luis Marin and P. de Ircio, at the head of twenty four cavalry, one hundred and fifty infantry, fourteen musqueteers and crossbow-men, and upwards of eight thousand Indians was to take his post at Iztapalapa. The two first named di-

visions were to march by the right, the third in the opposite direction. Sandovals party had also orders not to march, until Cortes who commanded the flotilla in person should launch out upon the lake.

I must now advert to another affair which happened at this time. The divisions of the two captains in chief Alvarado and De Oli being prepared to set out, in order not to be incumbered with our Indian allies on the march, we sent them off one day before us, with orders to halt and wait for our arrival when they came upon the Mexican territory. The Tlascalans pursuing their march, Chichimacatecle remarked the absence of the younger Xicotenga, the commander in chief. On enquiring it was found that he had secretly gone away on the preceding night to Tlascala, there to seize and possess himself of the property and territory of Chichimacatecle, thinking this a good opportunity, in the absence of that chief and of the other warriors of his nation, and fearing no opposition since the death of Maxicatzin. His disinclination to the expedition had also been apparent from the first. Chichimacatecle, on discovering the design against him, immediately returned to Tezcuco to inform Cortes, who on hearing it dispatched five of the chiefs of Tezcuco and two of Tlascala after Xicotenga, with a message from him to request his return. His answer was, that if Maxicatzin and his old father had believed him, they would not be now ridden by Cortes in the manner they were, and he absolutely refused to return. This answer being sent back to Cortes, he commanded an alguazil attended by four of the cavalry and five chiefs of Tezcuco, to set out immediately, giving them orders, wherever they found Xicotenga, to seize and hang him without ceremony. Alvarado interceded strongly for him, but ultimately to no purpose, for although Cortes appeared to listen to him, the party which arrested Xicotenga in a town subject to Tezcuco, there hung him under private orders of Cortes not to let him go from them alive, and as some say with the approbation of his father.

This affair detained us one day, and on the next, the two detachments of Alvarado and De Oli marched by the same route, and halted for the night, in a place subject to Tezcuco named Aculma. Here a disagreeable affair had like to have taken place. It appeared that De Oli had sent forward to take quarters, and had appropriated every house in the town to his own company, marking them by putting green branches on the terraces, so that when Alvarado's detachment arrived, we had not a place to lodge in. Our soldiers immediately stood to their arms to fight those of De Oli, and the two captains had already challenged each other, but several of the more moderate officers interfering, they were pacified for the present. An express was immediately sent to Cortes, who wrote to every one of any influence amongst our detachments, condemning the steps which had been taken, and earnestly recommending a reconciliation. After this Alvarado and De Oli never were friends.

We continued our march for two days more, by Mexican cities which were abandoned, the last of which was Guatitlan; and on the third, passing the towns of Tenayuca and Escapuzalco where we found our allies [1] waiting for us, we proceeded to Tacuba.

The enemy gave notice by their noises that they were about us in great numbers, and our two detachments, it was settled, should on the ensuing day go to cut the aqueduct of Chapultepeque. At the time appointed, we set out with our allies, and though the enemy attacked us in our march, we succeeded, destroying the pipes, so that from that day, no more fresh water came to Mexico. It was now determined to try our fortune against the city, and see if we could not at least get possession of a bridge upon the causeway of Tacuba. When we arrived there, the immense number of boats, and of their troops on the land, was a subject of astonishment. By the first volley of their arrows they killed three and wounded thirty of our soldiers; nevertheless we advanced to

[1] The whole number of whom amounted to seventy thousand.

the bridge, the enemy, as it were by stratagem, receding, and now we were upon a causeway twenty feet wide, exposed as a butt to the arrows of those on the water on both our flanks. Our musquetry and crossbows had no effect whatever on their canoes they were so well protected; as to the cavalry their horses were all wounded, and if they pursued the enemy a little distance on the causeway, they were stopped by the parapets which they had built across it, and which they defended with long lances; and when our infantry advanced against them in front, the enemy threw themselves into the water. Thus we were fighting them for upwards of an hour, their numbers increasing from every part of the lake, and our allies only encumbering the causeway. Being utterly unable to resist the enemy who were on the water we determined to retire, which we did, leaving eight dead and having above fifty wounded, the enemy pursuing us closely.

On the ensuing day, Captain De Oli proceeded with his detachment for Cuyoacan; he talked in terms of disapprobation of the preceding expedition, laying the blame on the rashness of Alvarado. We all were solicitous that the two captains should remain together, and certainly their separation was very imprudent, for had the enemy known the smallness of our number, they would have fallen on and destroyed either detachment, during the four or five days that we were separated, and before the arrival of Cortes with the flotilla. In these two positions our detachments remained for the above period, without venturing to pay another visit to the Mexican causeways. During this time the enemy frequently sent bodies of their troops to the main land, and annoyed us with attacks in our quarters.

Sandoval with his detachment left Tezcuco on the fourth day after the feast of Corpus Christi, and marching through a friendly country, arrived in front of the town of Iztapalapa. On his arrival he immediately attacked the enemy in that place, and burned many of the houses which were built on

the firm ground; but fresh bodies of Mexicans came both by land and water to their relief, and while thus occupied, our troops observed a smoke to rise from the top of a hill above the town, which was answered in the same manner at other points round the lake, and this we found to be a signal for the information of the enemy, that our flotilla was launched; a circumstance which occasioned them to relax in their hostilities against Sandoval. He now remained unmolested in his insulated situation, in a part of the town of Iztapalapa, between which and Cuyoacan there were no means of communication but by a causeway which crosses the lake, and the passage of which was impracticable in the face of the enemy.

Cortes when he brought his flotilla upon the lake, first went to attack a rock which forms a small island just by Mexico, and on which many of the natives as well of that neighbourhood as of other parts had taken refuge. As soon as the enemy discovered his intention, their whole force from every part of the lake proceeded against him. When our general perceived the immense number of large boats full of fighting men, for it exceeded four thousand, he drew his flotilla into an open part of the lake, and ordered his captains to wait patiently for a breeze of wind which was just then beginning to spring up. The enemy thinking this was owing to fear, began to close round him with great triumph, and just at this moment the wind rising in his favor, the whole fleet set sail, plying their oars at the same time; bearing down upon the Mexican canoes in this manner, they sunk a number of them, and compelled the rest to take shelter in the recesses on the sides of the lake.

After this Cortes sailed for Cuyoacan. Here he had another attack by the Mexicans, who assailed his vessels from the temples on the land, as well as with their canoes; but he brought four guns to bear upon them, and did considerable execution; although, by some mismanagement of the gunners, his powder magazine blew up, wounding many of

his people. This misfortune obliged him to detach his lightest vessel to Sandoval for a supply. At Cuyoacan he remained with the flotilla for two days, and here I will leave him to relate what passed in the detachment of Alvarado. When we perceived that the flotilla was upon the lake, we marched out upon the causeway as far as the bridge, where we passed our time in a repetition of engagements with the enemy, but to little effect, farther than repairing the passes in our rear as we advanced, nor did we now suffer the cavalry to come to the causeway.

Sandoval had found that in his present position he could not sufficiently annoy the enemy, who were established in the houses built in the water; he therefore advanced by a causeway to a place which commanded them better. This being perceived from Mexico, a large detachment was sent in canoes, with directions to cut the causeway behind our troops. Cortes observing this set sail with his vessels for their relief, ordering De Oli to go thither with a body of troops by the causeway. Having relieved Sandoval, the general ordered this detachment to a place named Tepeaquilla, where is now built the church of Nuestra Senora de Guadelupe, in which many wonderful miracles have been, and are, performed.

As it was impossible for our troops to advance upon the causeways without their flanks being secured on the water, the flotilla was formed into three divisions, and one of them attached to each of the three corps of our army; that is to say, four ships to Alvarado, six to De Oli, and two to Sandoval, making in all twelve, for the thirteenth, named "Busca Ruido, or follow the noise," being found to be too small, was ordered to be laid up, and her crew divided among the rest, as we had twenty very badly wounded already on board the ships. Alvarado now ordered us out upon the causeway, and placing two of the ships on each side, he thereby protected the flanks. We drove the enemy from several bridges and barricades, but after fighting during the whole day, we were obliged at night to retreat to our quarters, almost every

man of us wounded by the showers of arrows and stones, which exceeded imagination; for we were attacked constantly by fresh troops bearing different devices, by land, while from the terraces of the houses, the enemy commanded our ships. As we could not leave a party to secure what we got in the day, at night the enemy repossessed themselves of the bridges, and put better defences on them. They deepened the water in some places, and in the shallow part they dug pits, and placed canoes in ambuscade, which they secured from the attacks of our vessels by pallisades under the water. This was the manner in which they opposed us every day. The cavalry as I before observed could do nothing; the enemy had built parapets across the causeways which they defended with long lances, and even had an attack been practicable, the soldiers would not risk their horses, which at this time cost eight hundred crowns, and some more than one thousand; nor indeed were they to be had at any price.

When we arrived at night, we were employed in curing our wounds, and a soldier named Juan Catalan also healed them by charms and prayers, which, with the mercy of our Lord Jesus, recovered us very fast. But wounded or not, we were obliged to go against the enemy every day, as otherwise our companies would not have been twenty men strong. When our allies saw that the before mentioned soldier cured us by charms and prayers, all their wounded came to him, so that he had more business on his hands than he knew what to do with. Every day our ensign was disabled, not having it in his power to carry the colours, and defend himself. Corn we had sufficiency of, but we wanted refreshments for the wounded. What preserved us was the plant called "quilites," cherries while in season, and "tunas" or Indian figs. The situation of our other parties round the lake was similar to what I have here described.

The enemy in the city rushed out on the signal being made from the top of the great temple of Taltelulco; and these attacks were made every day, and repeated by fresh troops,

who were formed and marched out in succession. Finding that we gained so little and lost so much, we resolved to change our plan of operations. There was on our causeway a small open place, where were some buildings for religious worship; here we established a post, and lodged ourselves, though very badly, as every shower of rain came in upon us, leaving our cavalry and Indian allies to secure our rear in Tacuba, from which place we were supplied with bread. From this time, as we advanced, we filled the water cuts which intersected the causeway, and prostrated the houses which were on each side of it; for it was exceeding difficult to set them on fire, nor could the flames communicate from one to another, on account of the water which was between them, and if we threw ourselves into the water to swim to a house, the enemy destroyed us from their terrasses. We guarded every pass day and night as we gained it, and our method of keeping guard was as follows.

The company which was first for duty took it from sun set to midnight with forty men; the second company with the same number came on at midnight, and remained until two hours before day break, the first guard not quitting the post, but sleeping on the ground; this second guard watched the hours of lethargy, and after them came on the third company for the two hours until day, at which time, as those who were relieved did not quit the post, there were an hundred and twenty men at the guard. Sometimes our whole detachment remained under arms during the night, for our prisoners had informed us that it was the intention of the Mexicans, by a great effort, to force our post, as they knew that by so doing they would entirely disconcert the plans of the other two; and it was intended that the nine towns in and about the lake, including ours of Tacuba, together with Ezcapuzalco and Tenayuca, should make a joint effort, and attack us in the rear while the Mexicans attacked us in front. It was at the same time intended to carry off our luggage and bakery in Tacuba. This intelligence we immediately communicated to

our cavalry, warning them and our allies to be well on their guard.

As we had been informed, so it happened; we were attacked for several nights in succession, from midnight to the break of day. The enemy sometimes came on with great noise, at others stole upon us in silence, but during the night their attacks were never made with so much resolution as in the day. We were however harrassed to death with wounds, fatigues, wind, rain, and cold. The place where we were posted was now mud and water, and our miserable food of maize, and herbs withall! but, as our officers said, such is the fortune of war! with all our sufferings nothing effectual was gained: the parapets we threw down, or the ditches we filled up during the day, the enemy replaced in the ensuing night. What use was our cutting off their water, or closing their causeways against them, when they were supplied by canoes with whatever they wanted from the neighbouring towns on the lake? In order to prevent this, it was determined that two of our vessels should cruise during the night, to intercept them. This was found to answer in a considerable degree, but still some escaped into the city.

The Mexicans had the boldness at this time to form a plan for the surprise of these vessels. For this purpose they prepared thirty of their largest piraguas, and concealed them among reeds, sending two or three canoes along the lake, as if conveying provisions, by way of a bait for our vessels. The Mexicans had also fixed piles of large timber below the water, in the direction which our ships were to be drawn in. The canoes being perceived by our people, two vessels sallied out upon them; the others appeared to take fright, and rowed towards the ambuscade, followed by our vessels, which as soon as they arrived near enough, were surrounded by the thirty piraguas. By the first discharge they wounded every officer, soldier, and rower, on board; and the vessels could not stir on account of the piles of timber. The enemy continuing their attacks, killed a captain named Portilla; he was

a gentleman who had served in Italy. Captain Pedro Barba also of the crossbow-men died of his wounds, and the vessels fell into their hands. These belonged to the principal division, which Cortes commanded; he was much exasperated, but in the course of a short time repayed them well in their own way.

Cortes as also our other chiefs, by his order, pursued their plan of advancing against the city. As they gained ground, they threw down the houses, and with the materials filled up the ditches or canals which crossed the causeways; and our brave Tlascalan allies rendered us the greatest services, during the whole war. The Mexicans opposed our progress by breaking a bridge in the rear of their parapets and barricades, where the water was very deep, leaving one obvious pass as a decoy, and in other parts, pit falls under the water; they also made parapets on both sides of the breach, they placed palisades in the deep water where our vessels could approach, and they had canoes manned ready to sally out upon the signal given. When they had made these preparations they advanced against us in three bodies, one by the side of Tacuba, the other by the ruins of the houses which had been destroyed, and the third by the causeway, where they had made the works. Alvarado had brought part of his cavalry to our post, since the houses were destroyed. We repulsed the enemy on all sides, and one party of us having forced them from the work I have mentioned, crossed the water, up to our necks, at the pass they had left open, and followed them, until we came to a place where were large temples and towers of idols. Here we were assailed by fresh troops from the houses and roofs, and those whom we pursued faced about and came against us. We were obliged to retreat, which we did with regularity, but when we came to the water, we found that the enemy in their canoes had got possession of the pass where we had crossed. We were therefore obliged to look for other places, but as they came pressing on us, we were at length compelled to throw our-

selves into the lake and get over as we could. Those who were not able to swim fell into the pits; the enemy closed in upon them, wounded most, and took five of our soldiers alive. The vessels which came to our relief could not approach, being embarrassed among the palisades, and here they lost two soldiers. It was a wonder that we were not all destroyed in the pit falls; a number of the enemy laid hands on me, but our Lord Jesus Christ gave me force to disengage my arm, and by dint of a good sword, I got free from them, though wounded, and arrived on the dry ground, where I fainted away, and remained senseless for a time. This was owing to my great exertions, and loss of blood. When this mob had their claws on me, I recommended myself to our Lord and his blessed mother, and they heard my prayer, glorified be they for all their mercies! one of our cavalry crossed the water with us this day; he and his horse were killed. Fortunately, the rest were with Alvarado in Tacuba; had they been with us they must have been all destroyed from the tops of the buildings, for the action took place as it were within the very city. After this success the enemy kept us constantly employed during the day and night, by attacks upon our posts. Cortes was much dissatisfied at hearing of our defeat, which he considered as owing to our neglect of his directions that the cuts across the causeways should be filled with timber and sods as we advanced.

In the space of four days, and with the loss of six soldiers, we completely filled up this great aperture, and here we established our advanced post, the enemy having one opposite to us. Their method of keeping guard was this; they made a great fire in their front, which concealed them from our view, except when they came to renew the fire, as it was sometimes extinguished by the rains, which were at that season frequent and heavy. They kept profound silence on guard, nor was it ever interrupted except by their signals, which were given by a whistle. Our shot did no execution among them, for they fortified their post by a parapet and a

new ditch. Having described the manner in which guard was kept on each side, I will now give an account of our daily employment. In the morning we marched against the enemy; after engaging them during the whole day we retreated, towards evening, covered with wounds, first clearing the causeway of our allies whose numbers embarrassed us, a circumstance the enemy were watchful to take advantage of; after which we fell back step by step, firing at the enemy as they advanced, and being flanked by the armed vessels, until we reached our post. When we arrived in our quarters we sat down to our misery of maize cakes, herbs, and tunas, curing our wounds with oil, and remaining all night subject to constant alarms.

Cortes and his party were employed in the same manner, and his loss in killed and wounded was by this time become very considerable. He constantly sent out vessels at night to scour the lake, and one night they brought in to him some prisoners of consequence; from them he learned that the enemy had formed an ambuscade similar to their former one, of forty piraguas and the same number of canoes. Cortes then prepared six vessels, and sent them during the night, and with muffled oars, to a place of concealment within a quarter of a leagues distance of that of the enemy. It must be observed that the bushes and tall reeds, and the water cuts at the edges of the lake, favored those deceptions. Early in the morning one of our vessels was sent as if in search of the Mexican canoes which went with provisions to the city, the prisoners being put on board it in order to point out the place where their flotilla was concealed. The enemy also played off the deception of loaded canoes to draw us thither, and these canoes pretending to endeavor to escape, rowed towards the ambuscade laid by their party; our vessel pursued them very near it, and then brought to, as if from apprehension. The enemy's flotilla perceiving that she did not advance, sallied out on her, those on board of her rowing towards that part where our ships were concealed. When

SCENE OF NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND AZTECS ON LAKE NEAR THE CITY OF MEXICO.

they found that the enemy were brought to that point where we wished them to be, the crew fired two shots as a signal to our ambuscade, immediately on which the vessels pushed out, and falling on the enemy ran down several, and dispersed the rest, making a number of prisoners. This gave them enough of ambuscades, nor did they from that time run across to Mexico so openly as before.

The people of the cities in the lake growing tired of this warfare, waited on Cortes at this time in order to make submission, declaring that they had been forced into hostility by the Mexicans. Cortes received them with affability, gave them assurances of protection according to their behaviour, and at the same time told them that he expected their assistance in the supply of boats and provisions, and in erecting barracks for the troops. This they promised readily, but performed very badly. Cortes had huts built for his detachment, but the rest remained exposed to the weather, a very severe duty in itself in that climate, where during the months of June, July, and August, it rains continually.

Our detachment persevered in filling up every ditch and canal as we proceeded with the materials of the houses which we destroyed; and constantly gained temples, bridges, or houses which stood separate from each other, and were accessible by draw-bridges only. To prevent jealousy, the companies took the working and covering parties alternately, and towards evening, when we drew off, the whole stood to their arms, and retreated, sending our Indian allies before us. The latter rendered us most important assistance in the working duty, both in pulling down the houses, and filling the apertures. Sandoval during this time was obliged to sustain constant attacks, and Cortes on his side attacked one of the out posts of the city, where the canal which crossed the causeway was too deep to be forded. The enemy had fortified it strongly, and defended it both by land and water. Cortes commanded the attack in person, and with success; but at night he was obliged to retire without filling the ditch,

and with the loss of four Spaniards killed and above thirty wounded, for the pass was commanded from the terraces, and the pallisades made in the water prevented the approach of the vessels.

Guatimotzin now determined to wear us out by continual efforts. Accordingly, on the twenty first of June, the anniversary of the day of our entry into Mexico, the enemy attacked us at every point with their whole force by land and water, at the hour of the second sleep, or of lethargy, that is two hours before day. The number fit for duty at our post was one hundred and twenty; our allies we had sent entirely off the causeway, and it was with our utmost efforts that we could resist the enemy; we at length however repulsed them from all our posts, but with the loss of many killed and wounded. Alvarado's detachment lost two soldiers on this occasion. The enemies attacks were continued for two nights successively upon the different posts, and they afterwards concentrated their whole force in an assault upon ours, which took place at day break. This was the most desperate of all; if our allies had been with us we should have been lost. Our cavalry on this occasion saved our flanks, and we had considerable support from our ships. Eight of our soldiers were killed in this attack, and Alvarado was wounded; but we ultimately beat the enemy off, and also made four of their chiefs prisoners. I fear to tire my readers with this repetition of battles. For ninety three days together were we employed in the siege of this great and strong city, and every day and every night we were engaged with the enemy. Of course they must pardon what my duty as an historian compels me to relate; still were I to extend my narrative to include every action which took place, it would be almost endless, and my history would resemble that of Amadis, and the other books of chivalry.

Cortes growing weary of delay, called a council of war, relative to a general assault upon the city. His plan was, to march by the three causeways, and to endeavour to gain the

great square, where, uniting our whole force, we should command all the streets leading to it. Upon this proposal there was a great difference of opinion, for many thought our present method of proceeding by filling the canals as we advanced, destroying the houses, and making a road with the materials, was preferable to that recommended by Cortes, whereby, in going into the heart of the city, we should become the besieged instead of being the besiegers, and fall exactly into the situation in which we were when obliged to fly from Mexico. We should also they said be involved in greater difficulties than formerly, for the enemy would now bring their whole power by land and water upon us, so that we should have to contend with them in the city, on the lake, and all round it, without the possibility of retreat, which they could preclude by cutting the causeways. When Cortes had heard the opinions of all, and the good reasons upon which they were founded, the result was, that he gave orders for our whole force, together with our allies, to attack the city on the ensuing day, and to get possession of the great square.

On the next morning therefore, having heard mass, and recommending ourselves to God, our three detachments marched against the enemy's posts in their front. Those commanded by Cortes and Sandoval met with less violent opposition than that which fell to the lot of the division of Alvarado, to which I belonged. In our attack upon the first dike, most of the Spaniards received wounds, one was killed, and above one thousand of our allies killed or wounded. Cortes at first bore down all before him, and having driven the enemy from a post where the water was very deep and the causeway very narrow, he was induced to pursue them in their retreat to the city, his Indian allies crouding close after the Spaniards. The enemy induced him by frequent halts and feigned attacks to continue the pursuit, and the causeway had been narrowed, to answer their design. It was the will of our Lord that Cortes and his captains

should be so negligent as to omit filling the ditch, which they had passed. The causeway was also in some parts covered with water, and deep in mud. When the enemy saw our Cortes thus run into the trap which they had laid, multitudes in canoes sallied out against him and took him on his flanks and rear, his own vessels not being able to approach on account of the pallisadoes. It became now necessary for the troops to retreat, which they did at first with great regularity, but when they came to the narrow pass I have before mentioned, the difficulty of the ground, with the fury of the attack, from a retreat turned it into a race, our people flying before the enemy without attempting to defend themselves. Our Cortes used every exertion to rally them but in vain; he received a wound in the leg from the enemy on board the canoes at the pass, where they killed six of our horses, and carried off seventy two Spaniards alive. Six chiefs seized upon Cortes, but it was the will of God that he should escape, for that valiant soldier Christoval de Olea, seeing his general's danger, flew to his assistance, as did another brave man named Lerma. Olea with his own hand killed four of the six Mexican chiefs, gallantly losing his own life in defence of his general, and Lerma escaped with the greatest difficulty. Other soldiers now arrived to the assistance of our Cortes; amongst the number was Quinones captain of his guards. They took him out of the water in their arms, and placing him on a horse, hurried him off from the crowd of enemies, and shortly after, his major domo named Christoval de Guzman brought one of his own horses for him. The enemy followed up their attack with ardour, and the unfortunate Guzman being seized by them was carried alive to Mexico. Cortes and the shattered remains of his troops, pursued to the last, arrived with great difficulty at their quarters, where I will leave them for the present, to relate what happened in the division commanded by Alvarado.

After our first attack, wherein we defeated the enemy, as

we were advancing, we were met by fresh troops in great parade, bearing plumes of feathers, and devices on their standards. When we came near them they threw down before us five bleeding heads, crying out to us that they were those of Cortes and his officers, and that we should meet the same fate with our companions; they then marched up, and fighting us foot to foot, compelled us to retreat. We as usual called to our allies to clear the way for us, but in the present case there was no occasion; the sight of the bloody heads had done it effectually, nor did one of them remain on the causeway to impede our retreat. Before we arrived at our quarters, and while the enemy were pursuing us, we heard their shrill timbals, and the dismal sound of the great drum, from the top of the principal temple of the god of war, which overlooked the whole city. Its mournful noise was such as may be imagined the music of the infernal gods, and it might be heard at the distance of almost three leagues. They were then sacrificing the hearts of ten of our companions to their idols. Shortly after this the king of Mexico's horn was blown, giving notice to his captains that they were then to take their enemies prisoners, or die in the attempt. It is impossible to describe the fury with which they closed upon us when they heard this signal. Though all is as perfect to my recollection as if passing before my eyes, it is utterly beyond my power to describe; all I can say is, it was God's will that we should escape from their hands, and get back to safety to our post. Praised be he for his mercies, now, and at all other times!

Our cavalry made several charges this day, but our great support was in two guns which raked the causeway, and were commanded by a gentleman named Pedro Moreno de Medrano, who always bore a high reputation as an officer, but whose services on this day were most important, for the whole causeway was crouded with the enemy. We were as yet ignorant of the fate of our other detachments. Sandoval was above half a league distant, and Cortes still farther.

The melancholy sight of the remains of our countrymen, and the loss of one of our vessels, three of the soldiers of which the enemy had killed, impressed our minds with despair, and we thought this the last hour of our lives. The vessel was afterwards recovered by that commanded by Captain Juan Xaramillo. Captain Juan de Limpias Caravajal, who now lives in La Puebla, a most gallant officer, had the honor of being the first who with his vessel broke through the enemies pallisades, totally losing his hearing, from this day, by excess of courage.

Cortes, most of whose soldiers had been killed, and what remained alive, wounded, was attacked in his quarters by a great body of the enemy, who threw over to him the heads of four of our companions, alledging them to be those of Alvarado, Sandoval, and others, in order to impress the soldiers of Cortes and our allies with the idea, that they had been equally successful against the other detachments. When Cortes beheld the horrid spectacle his heart sunk within him, but he kept up appearances, and ordering all to stand to their arms, made a front to the enemy. He then sent Andres de Tapia with three more mounted men to our quarters, in order to ascertain what the state of affairs was. In their way thither they were attacked by many bodies of the enemy, whom the king of Mexico had placed upon a plan of intercepting our communications. On their arrival they found us engaged with the Mexican forces. They at that time concealed the loss of Cortes, stating it at no more than five and twenty.

It is now necessary to advert to Sandoval, who had gone on victorious until the defeat of Cortes; after which the enemy turned on him, and in their first attack killed two soldiers and wounded all the rest, giving Sandoval himself three wounds, one of which was in the head. As they had done elsewhere, they threw before his troops six heads of their companions, recently taken off, threatening them with the like fate. Sandoval was not to be terrified; he warned his soldiers to preserve a good countenance, and seeing no

hopes of success brought his division back to their quarters, with many wounds it is true, but with the loss of only two of their number. Sandoval then, wounded as he was, leaving the command of his post to Captain Luis Marin, set out on horseback to have an interview with Cortes. As he went he was assailed by the enemy, but he arrived at the general's quarters, and addressing him in terms of surprise and condolance, asked him how this ill success had happened. "Son Sandoval" said Cortes, with tears in his eyes, "it is for my sins that this misfortune has befallen me; but the fault is with the treasurer Alderete, who was ordered by me to fill up the bad pass where the enemy threw us into confusion." The treasurer then exclaimed, that it was with Cortes himself the fault lay, he having never given any such orders, but hurrying on his men after the enemy in their feigned retreat, crying, "forward! gentlemen forward!" Cortes was also very much blamed for not having sent his allies out of the way early enough; however I will omit to detail any more of the conversation which passed at this time between Cortes and the treasurer, as it happened in the heat of anger and disappointment. Cortes was agreeably surprised by the arrival of two of his vessels which he had given up for lost, although he did not express himself so. Cortes desired Sandoval to go to our quarters at Tacuba, as he apprehended that the weight of the enemy's attack would fall upon this post, and recommended that he should pay attention to our affairs, as he himself was at present unable to do so. Sandoval setting out, arrived at Tacuba about the hour of vespers. He also found us as Tapia had done, occupied in repelling the enemy, some of whom were attacking us by the causeway, others by that of the ruined houses. I was at this time together with others of our soldiers up to my waist in the water defending a vessel which was aground, and engaged with the enemy who were endeavouring to get possession of her. Just as Sandoval arrived however, by a great effort we got the vessel afloat, but with the loss of two of the crew killed,

and every man on board wounded. The enemy now attacked us with more violence. Sandoval received a blow on the face with a stone, and called to us loudly to retreat; we not falling back as fast as he wished, he called again to us, asking if we wanted to have all the cavalry destroyed. We then retreated until we reached our post, during the time of which, our two guns, under the direction of Medrano, though they frequently swept the causeway, could not prevent the enemy from following us closely.

Here we were for a time at rest, and engaged in relating the events which had happened at each post, when on a sudden our ears were struck by the horrific sound of the great drum, the timbals, horns, and trumpets, in the temple of the war god. We all directed our eyes thither, and shocking to relate! saw our unfortunate countrymen driven by force, cuffs, and bastinades, to the place where they were to be sacrificed, which bloody ceremony was accompanied by the mournful sound of all the instruments of the temple. We perceived that when they had brought the unfortunate victims to the flat summit of the body of the temple, where were the adoratories, they put plumes upon their heads, and with a kind of fan in the hand of each, made them dance before their accursed idols. When they had done this, they laid them upon their backs, on the stone used for the purpose, where they cut out their hearts, alive, and having presented them, yet palpitating, to their gods, they drew the bodies down the steps by the feet, where they were taken by others of their priests. Let the reader think what were our sensations on this occasion. Oh heavenly God! said we to ourselves, do not suffer us to be sacrificed by these wretches! do not suffer us to die so cruel a death! and then how shocking a reflection, that we were unable to relieve our poor friends who were thus murdered before our eyes! at this moment the enemy assailed our post in great force, reviling us and saying their gods had promised us all to them. Our Indian allies sunk under the dreadful ideas they expressed, when

they threw among them also some of the mangled remains of their horrid feasts, other parts being sent round all the neighbouring districts, as a triumphant memorial. We still however maintained possession of our post, one half of our cavalry being on the causeway and the other half in the town.

Our new allies on the lake had suffered considerably by the enemy, having lost half their canoes, but they continued firm to us, from animosity to them, or contented themselves with being mere lookers on, and did not molest us. Cortes in consequence of our losses ordered a cessation of attacks, which lasted for the space of four days, during which we did not quit our posts, having lost near eighty men, and seven horses, in the last engagement. The enemy also gained ground on us, and made new ditches and water cuts, but we had a very deep and defensible one in front of our quarters. Sandoval and Tapia on their return to the general, reported to him the valiant manner in which our soldiers were behaving when they arrived at our post; Sandoval also mentioned me particularly, and said those things in my commendation, which, exclusive of the facts being known to our whole army, would not be proper to repeat of myself.

During this cessation, our whole force of infantry kept guard on the causeway at night, flanked by the brigantines, one half of the cavalry patroling in Tacuba, the other half on the causeway. In the morning we prepared to receive the enemy, who every day continued sacrificing our poor companions, and when they attacked, reviled us saying, that our flesh was too bitter to be eaten, and truly it seems that such a miracle was wrought. For five days together the enemy continued their assaults, being promised, as they said, our destruction, by their gods, within the space of eight days; but their gods as it appears to me, were perverse and treacherous to them, not permitting them to think of peace, and thus leading them to ruin. This language however, and the last menace in particular, had such an effect upon our allies, to-

gether with the bad appearance of our affairs, that they almost entirely deserted us in the course of a night. The only one who remained with Cortes, was, Suchel, otherwise Don Carlos, brother of Fernando lord of Tezcuco. He was a man of great bravery. His friends who staid by him amounted to about forty. With Sandoval remained the chief of Guaxocingo, with about fifty, and in ours the brave Chichimecatecle, the two sons of our friend D. Lorenzo de Vargas, and about eighty Tlascalans. Being questioned as to the flight of their countrymen they said, that the gods of the Mexicans had predicted our destruction; that they saw us all wounded, and many killed, that their own loss was above one thousand two hundred killed, and that the younger Xicotenga had from the first foretold that we should be all put to death; and therefore, considering us as lost, their countrymen had quitted us. Cortes though he thought what they said much too true, put on a chearful appearance, ridiculed the predictions of the enemy, and assured them that all would do well. He thereby was fortunate enough to induce the few who yet remained to stay with us to the last. The Indian Don Carlos, a brave and wise man now represented to Cortes the erroneous system on which he had acted, and also that which the situation of the enemy pointed out, advising him not to suffer his troops to fight. "Cut off" said he "their provisions and water; there are in Mexico so many Xiquipils of warriors, how can they subsist? their provisions must at some time be expended, the water which they get from the wells is salt, and they have no resource but from the frequent rains; fight them by hunger and thirst, and do not throw away your own force." Cortes embraced D. Carlos for his advice; not that the same had not occurred to many of us before, but we were too impatient.

Cortes began upon his new system, by sending orders to all the detachments to remain in their quarters for the next three days. As the enemy were so strong upon the lake, we always sent out two vessels in company; they had now

acquired the method of breaking through the pallisadoes by the force of oars and sails, when there was a good wind. Thus we were masters of the lake, and also of all the houses which were at any little distance from the city. This slackened the triumphs of the Mexicans. As our vessels broke through the enemy's pallisadoes, they could flank us while we carried on our work, filling the ditches in our front. This we effected at all our posts in the space of four days, Cortes himself carrying the beams and earth.

During each night of this period the enemy continued beating their accursed drum in the great temple; nothing can equal the dismal impression its sound conveyed. They were then in the execution of their infernal ceremonies; the whole place was illuminated, and their shrieks at certain intervals pierced the air. For ten nights together were they thus employed in putting to death our unfortunate companions; Christoval de Guzman was the last sacrificed; he was in their hands eighteen days; this we were informed by some of our prisoners, and for every sacrifice, we were told that their war god renewed to them the promise of victory. The enemy at times during the foregoing period brought our own crossbows against us, and made the unfortunate prisoners shoot them; but our post derived its safety from the excellent management of the two guns under P. M. Medrano, and we still advanced, gaining every day a bridge or a parapet. Our vessels also continually intercepted their canoes loaded with provision and water, also those which were employed in procuring that nutritive substance which when dry resembles cheese, and is found at the bottom of the lake. In this manner of proceeding twelve or thirteen days had now passed, our lives therefore exceeded the date allowed them by the prediction of the Mexican priests. This gave our allies courage, and in compliance with the requisition of our steady friend Suchel, two thousand warriors from Tezcuco returned to us. There came with them Captain Pedro Sanchez Farfan, and Anthonio de Villaroel, afterwards married to La Ojeda,

who had been left behind in Tezcuco. Many bodies also of our Tlascalan and other allies arrived about the same time. Cortes having summoned their chiefs, made them a speech, partly of reprimand and partly of hopes and promises, concluding it with an admonition to them not to put to death any of the Mexicans, as it was his wish to negociate for peace.

The heavy rains at this season of the year were much in our favor, the enemy always relaxing in their exertions when they came on. We had now advanced considerably into the city at each of the three attacks; we had also reached the fountains of brackish water, which we totally destroyed, and the cavalry could act through the whole space which we had gained, as it was our care to make it level for them.

Our general thought the present a good juncture to offer peace to the Mexicans; he therefore proposed to three of his principal prisoners to go with his message to their king, Guatimotzin, but they declined it, alledging that he would certainly put them to death. At length however he prevailed with them to carry his proposal, which was to this purport. That from the affection he bore to all the family of the great Montezuma, in order also to prevent the destruction of that great city, and the loss of lives, he was willing to treat of peace, calling to the recollection of Guatimotzin, that his troops and people were cut off from provisions and water, and that all those nations which had formerly been the vassals of Mexico were now the allies of the Spaniards; with many more strong arguments to the same purpose, which the embassadors very well understood. Previous to their going they desired that the general would provide them with a letter, under which authority they waited on the monarch, sobbing and wailing bitterly, as knowing the danger which attended their business. At first Guatimotzin and his chiefs appeared enraged, but the moderation of his disposition prevailed, and he resolved to call a council composed of the princes, chiefs, and priests of the city. Guatimotzin opened the business by expressing his own inclination to come

into terms, exposing the inefficacy of their resistance, the desertion of their allies, and the distresses of the people. The priests took the opposite opinion. They represented the conduct of the Spaniards from the first, their treatment of his uncle the great Montezuma, of Cacamatzin, and of various other princes as soon as they had got them in their power; also the death of the two sons of Montezuma, which they laid to their charge, the destruction and waste of the wealth of Mexico, and the marks of slavery with which they had branded other nations. They reminded him of his own martial fame and conduct, of the insidiousness of Cortes and his offers, and the promises of victory they had obtained from their gods. Guatimotzin then expressed his determination to fight to the last man and gave orders to spare the provisions as much as possible, to sink wells in various places, and to endeavour to obtain supplies by night.

Our army remained at their posts for two days quietly, expecting the answer from Mexico. We were then attacked at all points by great bodies of the enemy, who fell on us like lions, closing upon and endeavouring to seize us in their hands, whenever the horn of Guatimotzin was sounded. For seven days were we thus engaged, watching in a body during the night, at day break going into action, fighting during the day, and in the evening retiring to console ourselves with our misery of maize cakes, agi or pepper, tunas, and herbs. Our offer of peace only served for new matter for the enemy to revile us on, reproaching us as cowards, and saying, that peace was for women and arms for men.

It has been mentioned that the wretched remains of our countrymen were sent round to different provinces, to summon and encourage them to come to the aid of the Mexicans. In consequence, a force assembled from Matalzingo, Malinalco, and other places at the distance of eight leagues from Mexico, to fall on our rear, while the enemy from the city attacked us in front. When they had assembled as above mentioned, they began to commit outrages upon the country

between them and us, seizing the children in order to sacrifice. Complaints of this coming to Cortes, he detached Andres de Tapia with twenty cavalry and one hundred infantry against the enemy. This officer executed his mission completely, driving them back to their own country with loss.

Cortes then sent Sandoval to assist the people of the district called by us Cuernabaca, who were attacked in the same manner. There is much to say in respect to this expedition; too much indeed to be able to do justice to it without going into the details; suffice it that it was more peaceable than warlike, and of the happiest effect for us, Sandoval returning accompanied by two chiefs of the nation he had marched against. His return was very sudden, in order to protect our posts, which were in a most perilous way; for this draft had dismantled them, as he had with him every man really fit for duty, being twenty cavalry and eighty infantry. However he by his expedition saved both our allies and us.

Cortes now again sent an embassy to Guatimotzin, saying he had his Monarch's orders to save if possible that fine city; he reminded Guatimotzin of the distress of the wretched people, and to convince him that he had no hope from his allies, he sent the message by the two chiefs who accompanied Sandoval. The Mexican monarch returned no answer, except ordering the ambassadors immediately to quit the city. The enemy now increased every day the fury of their attacks; their expressions were, "Tenitoz re de Castilla! Tenitoz Axaca?" which means, "what says the king of Castille? what does he now?" We still continued advancing towards the heart of the city, and observed that notwithstanding the rage with which they assailed us, for it seemed as if they wished to meet their deaths, there was not so much movement among them as formerly, nor did they so busily employ themselves in opening the ditches. We also had cause for reflection of a less pleasant nature which was, that our powder was almost reduced to nothing. At this

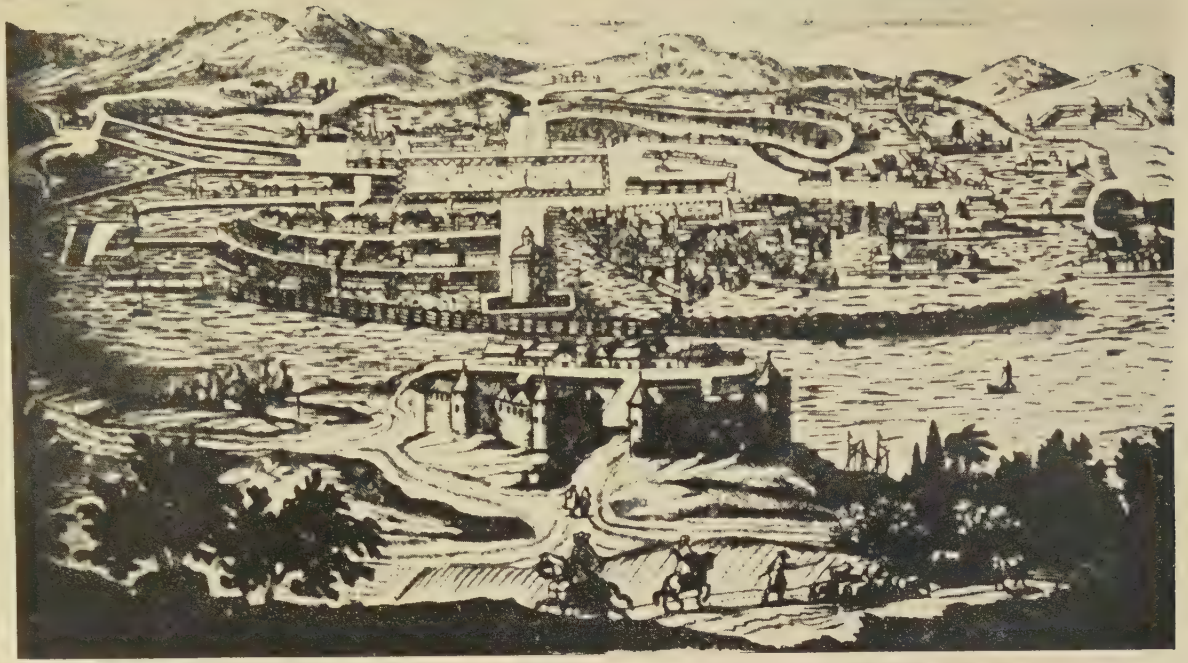
moment most fortunately, arrived at the port of Villa Rica, a vessel with soldiers and ordnance stores, one of an armament fitted out by the Licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Aillon, which had been destroyed or dispersed near the Islands of Florida. The relief and reinforcement were immediately forwarded to Cortes, by his lieutenant, Rangel. It was now determined by Cortes and all the army to push for the great place or Taltelulco of the city, on account of the principal temples and strong buildings being there. Each of our detachments therefore advanced for the purpose. Cortes got possession of a small square at which were some temples; in those temples were beams whereon were placed the heads of many of our soldiers; their hair and beards had much grown; I could not have believed it had I not seen it with my own eyes in three days after, when our party had advanced near enough to get a view of them, after having filled two canals. I recognized the features of three of our friends, and the tears came into my eyes at the sight. In twelve days they were all buried by us in that which is now named the church of the martyrs.

The detachment of Alvarado continued to advance, and after an engagement of two hours forced the enemy from their barricades in the great square. The cavalry now rendered good service in the open space, and the enemy were driven before us into the temple of the war god. Alvarado divided his forces into three bodies, and while he occupied the attention of the enemy with two, he ordered the third, commanded by Gutierre de Badajoz, to drive them from, and take possession of the great temple. The enemy, headed by their priests, occupied the adoratories or sanctuaries of their idols, and repulsed our troops, driving them down the steps; which being observed by Alvarado, he then sent us to support them, and on our arrival, having ascended to the top, we completely drove the enemy from that post; having done which, we set fire to the images of their false gods, and planted our standard on the summit of the temple. The

view of this signal of victory rejoiced Cortes, who would fain have joined us, but he had it not in his power. He was then distant a quarter of a league, and had many ditches to fill as he advanced. In four days from this time, both he and Sandoval had worked their way to us, and the communications to the three posts were opened through the centre of the city of Mexico. This attack upon the temple was truly perilous; the edifice was very lofty, and the enemy numerous; and they continued to engage us on the flat ground at the summit, from the time that we had set fire to the idols and their adoratories, until night. The royal palaces were now levelled to the ground, Guatimotzin and his troops having retired to a quarter of the city more distant from the centre, and towards the lake.

Still they attacked us in the day, and at night pursued us to our quarters, and thus time passed over, and no proposition was made concerning peace. Our chiefs then proposed a plan of laying ambuscades. Thirty cavalry and one hundred infantry of the prime of our army, together with one thousand Tlascalans were posted in concealment, in some large houses which had belonged to a nobleman of the city. This was done during the night. Cortes with the rest of his troops, in the morning went to attack a post at a bridge, which Guatimotzin had ordered to be supported by a large force. Cortes after his first attack retreated, drawing the enemy after him, by the buildings where the troops were placed in concealment. At the proper moment he fired two shots close together as a signal to us; we sallied out, and the enemy being enclosed between us, our allies, and the party of Cortes which faced about, a dreadful havoc was made of them, and from that time they no more annoyed us in our retreat. Another trap was also laid for them by Alvarado, but not with the same success; I was not present at it, being ordered by Cortes to do duty for that time with his party.

From our quarters we had to march above half a league



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF MEXICO, SHOWING CAUSEWAYS WHERE THE PRINCIPAL FIGHTING OCCURRED.

to meet the enemy; we now therefore quitted that post altogether, and lodged ourselves in the great square or Talte-lulco. Here we were for three days without doing any thing worth mentioning: we also abstained from destroying any more of the city, in the hopes of peace.

Cortes at this time sent to Guatimotzin requesting him to surrender, under the strongest assurances of enjoying the plentitude of power and honors. He accompanied this embassy with as handsome a present as his situation permitted, of provisions, bread, fowls, fruit, and game. Guatimotzin as he was advised to do by those whom he consulted, dissimulated, and seemed inclined to a pacification. He sent four of his principal nobility, with a promise to come to an interview with Cortes in three days. But this was all feigned; he employed the time in fortifying his quarter of the town, and making preparations to attack us. He also endeavoured to amuse us by a second embassy, but we were now advised of his schemes. In fact, from what he was told by those about him, and from the example of his uncle Montezuma, he was afraid to trust himself in our hands. But the mask was soon thrown off; we were attacked by great bodies of the enemy, with such violence that it appeared as if all was beginning anew. Having been rather taken by surprise, they did us at first some mischief, killed one soldier, and two horses; but in the end we sent them back with very little to boast of. Cortes ordered his troops now to proceed against that part of the city where the quarters of Guatimotzin were; accordingly we began upon our former system, and gained ground as we had before done elsewhere. When the king perceived this, he desired an interview with Cortes, on the side of a large canal which was to separate them. To this Cortes readily assented, and it was to take place on the ensuing morning. Cortes attended, but Guatimotzin never appeared; instead of which he sent several of his principal nobility, who said that the king did not think proper to come, from an apprehension that we might shoot

him during the parley. Cortes then engaged by the most solemn oaths not to do him any injury whatever, but it was of no effect. A ridiculous farce was played here: two of the nobility who attended on the part of Guatimotzin, took out of a sack, bread, a fowl, and cherries, which they began to eat, in order to impress the Spaniards with an idea that they were not in want. Cortes seeing the manner in which he was treated, sent back an hostile message and retired; after this we were left unmolested for the space of four or five days. During this time numbers of wretched Indians, reduced by famine, surrounded our quarters every night. Cortes pitied their miserable situation, and hoping that it might induce the enemy to come into terms of accommodation, ordered the cessation of hostilities to be strictly adhered to; but no overture of the kind was made.

There was in the army of Cortes a soldier who boasted of having served in Italy, and of the great battles which he had seen there. His name was Sotelo, and he was a native of Seville. This man was eternally talking of the wonderful military machines which he knew the art of constructing, and how he could make a stone engine which should in two days destroy that whole quarter of the city where Guatimotzin had retreated. He told Cortes so many fine things of this kind, that he persuaded him into a trial of his experiments, lime, stone, and timber being brought, according to his desire; the carpenters were also set to work, two strong cables were made, and stones the size of a bushel were prepared. The machinery was now all ready, the stone which was to be ejected was put in its place, and the whole apparatus was played off [2] against the quarters of Guatimotzin. But behold! instead of taking that direction, the stone flew up vertically into the air, and returned exactly into the place from whence it had been launched. Cortes was enraged and ashamed: he reproached the soldier, and ordered the ma-

[2] From the platform of a theatre.

chinery to be taken down; but still it continued the joke of the army.

Cortes now gave orders to Sandoval, to go with the flotilla against that part or nook of the city whither Guatimotzin had retired, cautioning him at the same time not to kill or injure any Mexican, unless he was attacked, nor even then to do more than was absolutely necessary for his own defence; but to level all the houses, and the many advanced works which the enemy had made in the lake. Cortes ascended then into the great temple, with several of his officers and soldiers, to observe the movements of his fleet. When Sandoval approached the quarters of Guatimotzin, that prince, who had great apprehensions of being made prisoner, availed himself of the preparations which he had made for his escape, and embarking himself, his family, his courtiers, and officers, with their most valuable effects, on board fifty large piraguas, the whole body set off for the main land, as did all his nobility and chiefs in various directions. Sandoval who was at this time occupied in making his way by tearing down the houses, received immediate notice of the flight of Guatimotzin. He instantly set out in the pursuit, giving strict orders that no injury or insult should be offered, but that each should keep a steady eye upon the royal vessel, and do his utmost to get possession of it. He particularly directed however Garci Holguin, his intimate friend, and captain of the quickest sailer of the fleet, to make for that part of the shore whither Guatimotzin was most likely to go. Accordingly this officer followed his instructions, and falling in with the vessels, from certain particulars in its appearance, structure, and awning, he ascertained that which the king was on board of. He made signs to the people in it to bring to, but without effect; he then ordered his crossbow-men and musqueteers to present, upon which Guatimotzin called out to them not to shoot, and approaching the vessel, acknowledged himself for what he

was, declaring his readiness to submit, and go with them to their general, but requesting that his queen, his children, and attendants should be suffered to remain unmolested. Holguin received him with the greatest respect, together with his queen, and twenty of his nobility. He seated them on the poop of his ship, and provided refreshments for them, commanding, that the piraguas which carried the kings effects, should follow untouched.

Sandoval at this moment made a signal for the flotilla to close up to him, and perceived that Guatimotzin was prisoner to Holguin, who was taking him to Cortes. Upon this he ordered his rowers to exert their utmost to bring him up to Holguin's vessel, and having arrived by the side of it, he demanded Guatimotzin to be delivered to him as general of the whole force; but Holguin refused, alledging that he had no claim whatever. A vessel which went to carry the intelligence of the great event, brought also to Cortes who was then on the summit of the great temple in the Taltelulco, very near the part of the lake where Guatimotzin was captured, an account of the dispute between his officers. Cortes instantly dispatched Captain Luis Marin and Francisco de Lugo, to bring the whole party together to his quarters, and thus to stop all litigation; but he enjoined them not to omit treating Guatimotzin and his queen with the greatest respect. During the interval, he employed himself in arranging a state, as well as he could, with cloths and mantles. He also prepared a table with refreshments, to receive his prisoners. As soon as they appeared, he went forward to meet them, and embracing Guatimotzin, treated him and all his attendants with every mark of respect. The unfortunate monarch, with tears in his eyes, and sinking under affliction, then addressed him in the following words. "Malintzin! I have done that which was my duty in the defence of my kingdom and people; my efforts have failed, and being now brought by force a prisoner in your hands, draw that poinard from your side, and stab me to the heart." Cortes embraced, and

used every expression to comfort him, by assurances that he held him in high estimation for the valour and firmness he had shewn, and that he had required a submission from him and the people at the time that they could no longer reasonably hope for success, in order to prevent further destruction; but that was all past, and no more to be thought of; he should continue to reign over the people, as he had done before. Cortes then enquired after his queen, to which Guatimotzin replied, that in consequence of the compliance of Sandoval with his request, she and her women remained in the piraguas, until Cortes should decide as to their fate. The general then caused them to be sent for, and treated them in the best manner his situation afforded. The evening was drawing on, and it appeared likely to rain; he therefore sent the whole royal family to Cuyoacan, under the care of Sandoval. The rest of the troops then returned to their former quarters; we to ours of Tacuba, and Cortes, proceeding to Cuyoacan, took the command there, sending Sandoval to resume his station at Tepeaquilla. Thus was the siege of Mexico brought to a conclusion by the capture of Guatimotzin and his chiefs, on the thirteenth of August, at the hour of vespers, being the day of St. Hyppolitus, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty one. Glorified be our Lord Jesus Christ, and our lady the Holy Virgin Mary and his blessed mother, amen!

In the night after Guatimotzin was made prisoner, there was the greatest tempest of rain, thunder, and lightening, especially about midnight, that ever was known; but all the soldiers were as deaf as if they had been for an hour in a steeple, with the bells ringing about their ears. This was owing to the continual noise of the enemy for ninety three days; some preparing their troops and bringing them on, shouting, calling, and whistling, as signals to attack us on the causeway; others in the canoes coming to attack our vessels; some again at work upon their pallisadoes, or opening the ditches and water cuts, and making stone parapets, or pre-

paring their magazines of darts and arms, and the women supplying the slingers with their ammunition. Then from the temples and adoratories of their accursed idols, the timbals and horns, and the mournful sound of their great drum, and other dismal noises, were incessantly assailing our ears, so that day or night we could hardly hear each other speak. But these dins immediately ceased on the capture of Guatimotzin, for which reason as I have observed, we felt like so many men just escaped from a steeple where all the bells were ringing about our ears.

Guatimotzin was of a noble appearance both in person and countenance; his features were rather large, and chearful, with lively eyes. His age was about twenty three or four years, and his complexion very fair for an Indian. His queen the niece of Montezuma, was young, and very handsome.

In regard to the dispute between Sandoval and Holguin, Cortes related to them the circumstance from the Roman history, of the capture of Jugurtha, and the dispute of Marius and Sylla, about which of them should have the honor of it, and that this dispute was productive of most fatal civil wars; but said that he would lay the whole affair before his Majesty, by whose arbitration it should be decided, which of the two should have the action emblazoned in his arms. In two years from this time the Emperor's orders upon the subject arrived; they were to this purpose; that Cortes should bear in his arms the seven kings, representing Montezuma, Guatimotzin, and the princes of Tezcuco, Iztapalapa, Cuyoacan, Tacuba, and Matalzingo.

What I am going to mention is truth, and I swear and say amen to it. I have read of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality there exceeded this of Mexico; for all the people from the distant provinces which belonged to this empire had concentrated themselves here, where they mostly died. The streets, the squares, the houses, and the courts of the Taltelulco were covered with

dead bodies; we could not step without treading on them; the lake and canals were filled with them, and the stench was intolerable. For this reason, our troops immediately after the capture of the royal family retired to their former quarters. Cortes himself was for some time ill from the effect of it.

The vessels were now the best situation, those on board carrying away all the plunder, for they had access to houses in the water which were not in our reach. They also found what the Mexicans had concealed in the reeds, and on the borders of the lake, and intercepted that which was carried out of our reach by water. We on land gained nothing but honor and wounds. The wealth our navy got was much more than we could guess at; Guatimotzin and all his chiefs declaring, when enquiry was made as to the public treasure, that it had mostly fallen into their hands.

To return to the state of Mexico. Guatimotzin now requested of Cortes, that permission should be given to clear the city entirely of the inhabitants, in order to purify it, and restore its salubrity. Accordingly they were ordered to remove to the neighbouring towns, and for three days, and three nights, all the causeways were full, from one end to the other, of men, women, and children, so weak and sickly, squalid and dirty, and pestilential, that it was misery to behold them. When all those who were able had quitted the city, we went to examine the state of it, which was as I have described. The streets, courts, and houses were covered with dead bodies, and some miserable wretches were creeping about, in the different stages of the most offensive disorders, the consequences of famine and improper food. The ground was all broken up to get at the roots of such vegetation as it afforded, and the very trees were stripped of their bark! There was no fresh water in the town. During all their distress however, though their constant practice was to feast on such as they took prisoners, no instance occurred of their having preyed on each other; and certainly never existed

since the creation a people which suffered so much from hunger, thirst, and warfare.

After having returned thanks to God, Cortes determined to celebrate his success by a festival in Cuyoacan; a vessel had arrived at Villa Rica with a cargo of wine, and hogs had been provided from the Island of Cuba. To this entertainment he invited all the officers of his army, and also the soldiers of estimation, and all things being prepared, on the day appointed, we waited on our general. When we came to sit down to dinner there were not tables for one half of us; this brought on great confusion among the company, and indeed for many reasons it would have been much better let alone. The plant of Noah was the cause of many fooleries and worse things; it made some leap over the tables who afterwards could not go out at the doors, and many rolled down the steps. The private soldiers swore they would buy horses with golden harness; the crossbow-men would use none but golden arrows; all were to have their fortunes made. When the tables were taken away the soldiers danced in their armour, with the ladies, as many of them as there were, but the disproportion in numbers was very great. This scene was truly ridiculous. I will not mention the names, suffice it to say a fair field was opened for satire. Fray De Olmedo thought what he observed at the feast, and in the dances too scandalous, and complained to Sandoval; and the latter directly told Cortes how the reverend father was scolding and grumbling. Cortes, discreet in all his actions, then came to him and affecting to disapprove the whole, requested that he would order a solemn mass and thanksgiving, and preach a sermon to the soldiers on the moral and religious duties. Fra Bartholome was highly pleased at this, thinking it had originated spontaneously from Cortes, and not knowing that the hint had been given him by Sandoval. Accordingly, the crucifixes and the image of our Lady were borne in solemn procession, with drums and standards; the litany was sung during the ceremony, Fra

Bartholome preached and administered the sacrament, and we returned thanks to God for our victory.

Cortes now took leave of his allies, the Tlascalan chiefs, and also of Suchel otherwise Don Carlos, a very brave man, as was another, a captain of some city near the lake the name of which I forget; but he did wonders. Many others who had rendered us most important services departed at the same time. Cortes dismissed them all to their homes with many embraces, thanks, and compliments, promising that he would soon make them rich, and great lords, and give them lands and vassals, so that they took their departure in high spirits. They had however secured something more substantial than promises, for they were well loaden with the plunder of Mexico, nor were they behind the enemy in their cannibal feasts, carrying with them portions preserved, to supply their friends on their return home.

Now that I am past these furious combats, through which, praised be God he was pleased to conduct me safe, I have to mention a certain particularity relative to myself, and it is this. When I saw the sacrifice of our seventy two countrymen, and their hearts taken out and offered to the war god of the Mexicans, I had a sensation of fear. Some may consider this as want of firmness; but if they weigh it duly, they will find that it was in truth the result of too much courage, which caused me to run into extreme and uncommon dangers; for in that day I considered myself a most valiant soldier, and was so esteemed by all; and was used to do that which was attempted by the boldest, and I was always under the eye of my captain. As I have before observed, when I saw my companions sacrificed, their hearts taken out palpitating, and their legs and arms cut off and eaten, I feared it might one day or other be my own lot, for they had me in their hands twice, but it was God's will that I should escape; but I remembered, and thought on what I had seen, and from this time I feared that cruel death; and this I mention, because before I went into battle, I felt a great depression

and uneasiness about my heart, and then recommending myself to God and his blessed mother our Lady, the instant I was engaged with the enemy it left me. Still I am surprised that it came upon me when I should have felt more valiant than ever, on account of the many battles in which I had been engaged. But I declare I never knew what fear was, until I saw the massacre of the seventy two soldiers. Let those cavaliers who have been in desperate battles and mortal dangers now decide what was the cause of my fears; I say that it was excess of courage; and for this reason; that I knew the greatness of the danger into which I was determined to go, and knowingly, and voluntarily, encountered it. Many engagements are related in my history besides those I was at; but if my body were of iron, I could not have been at all; and I was much oftener wounded than whole.

I must observe, that the Mexicans did not kill our soldiers, but wounded, and carried them off, to sacrifice alive, to their gods.

THE END OF PART TWO

The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico.

PART THE THIRD.

Chapter i.

Transactions and occurrences in New Spain subsequent to the conquest.

After the conquest, as soon as Cortes had leisure to turn his mind to objects of police and internal regulation, he directed that the aqueducts should be restored, and the city cleared of the dead, so that within two months it might be inhabited as before. The palaces and houses he ordered to be repaired, and pointed out that part which was to be inhabited by the natives, and that which was to be reserved for the Spaniards.

Guatimotzin now applied in the name of many of his principal nobility to Cortes, requesting that he would order such of their women of rank as had been taken by our soldiers, to be delivered to their husbands, and fathers. The general found some difficulty in this, but agreed to permit them to make search, and such as wished to return, he assured them that he would cause to be given up. They searched through every house, and though the women hid themselves they found many, but very few were inclined to return; they declared that they detested the idolatry of their countrymen, and in addition they were many of them pregnant, so that of the whole number three only went back to their families.

One of the first public works undertaken was an arsenal in the city, so situated as to include our flotilla. Alvarado was to the best of my knowledge appointed alcalde, until the arrival of Salazar de la Pedrada. All the gold, silver, and jewels, which were now collected in Mexico, amounted to the paltry sum of three hundred and eighty thousand crowns. It was reported that Guatimotzin had thrown great quantities into the lake four days before the surrender of the town, and it was well known that a considerable share had fallen to our allies, and to those who served on board the fleet. Cortes was not sorry to think Guatimotzin had it concealed, in hopes of obtaining it all for himself. It was then proposed to put both Guatimotzin and his confidential friend the prince of Tacuba to the torture, to extort confession from them; this was certainly very contrary to the inclination and disposition of Cortes, who could not approve of such an act of cruelty being committed on a person so distinguished as Guatimotzin; one who was absolute monarch of a country three times larger than Castille. In answer to all enquiries the king's officers protested that there was no more than what had been produced, which when melted and run into bars did not exceed three hundred and eighty thousand crowns. From this the fifth for the Emperor and another for Cortes were deducted; what remained did not at all satisfy those of the conquerors of Mexico who were not before friends to Cortes. They suggested to the treasurer Alderete that the general objected to Guatimotzin being tortured, in order to get the gold himself. Cortes was therefore obliged to leave the unfortunate king at their disposal, as well as the lord of Tacuba. What this inhuman process extorted from them was, a confession that they had, four days previous to the surrender, thrown treasure into the lake, and also the musquets, bows, and other arms taken from us in our flight, and in the last defeat of Cortes. The place which Guatimotzin pointed out was searched by the best swimmers, to no effect whatever. In a deep pond at his palace was found a sun of solid gold,

similar to that which Montezuma had given us, with many ornaments of small value, the private property of Guatimotzin. On the torture the Prince of Tacuba declared that he had gold at some large houses he possessed four leagues from the town of Tacuba, and that, if there, he would point out to us where it was buried. Alvarado and six soldiers whereof I was one accompanied him thither; when we arrived he declared he had said so in hopes of dying on the road, for that he had no treasure whatever; so we remained without any more gold to melt. The fact is that the treasury was diminished to a mere trifle before it came into Guatimotzin's hands; and I and many others who saw it at first knew it appeared to be then worth twice what it was when brought out to have his Majesty's share deducted: I observed many articles of remarkable and curious workmanship missing at that time; they were taken for the public service.

I and several good divers searched that part of the lake which had been pointed out by Guatimotzin, and we found some pieces of gold of little value, which were immediately claimed by Cortes and Alderete. They also sent down persons and were themselves present, but all they obtained amounted to less than the value of ninety crowns. This made us very pensive and grave, when we found what mere trifles our shares as they were called came to. For this reason Fra Bartholome, and other cavaliers and captains, represented to Cortes that it would be best to divide that which fell to the lot of the whole army, among the wounded, the halt, the blind, the deaf, the scorched, and the sick; and that those who had escaped sound would renounce their claims. This they said upon an expectation that it might draw out some of the treasure which they suspected was concealed. Cortes replied that he would enquire, and rectify all. Our captains and soldiers were then curious to know what the shares came to for each man. On casting it up it appeared, that to each horseman there came one hundred crowns, and to each infantry soldier I forget how much, but

no one would accept it. This did not quiet the soldiers; they murmured loudly and accused the treasurer. He to exculpate himself said, that they should blame Cortes, who had taken out a second fifth for himself, and also a deduction for loss of horses, and had retained from the common stock many pieces of wrought gold to send to his Majesty. The soldiers of Narvaez who never liked Cortes thoroughly, would not take their paltry shares, and as Cortes now lodged at Cuyoacan, in large buildings with white walls, very well adapted for scribbling on, there appeared every morning libels against him in prose or verse. The idea of one of them was, that as the planets sometimes went a little out of their course, but by the order of nature speedily reverted to it again, so it was with Cortes and his ambition. Another said we were more conquered by Cortes than Mexico by us, and that we were not the victors of New Spain, but the vanquished of Cortes. Some said that he had taken his fifth as general, and a second as king; and others again that Velasquez had incurred all the expence, and Cortes reaped all the profit. I recollect the words of one only: they were

"Que triste esta el alma mea,
Hasta que la parte vea." [1]

Many were written in such a stile as is not fit for me to relate, and some had a turn and witty point in them which I am not able to give. Cortes was a poet, and prided himself on giving answers in that way to such complimentary addresses as he received; he also used to reply in pointed epigrams to these pasquinades which grew every day more indecent. One day observing the walls covered with them he wrote, "a white wall is paper for fools." Next morning was found added, "and for truths." At length Fra Bartholome told Cortes the thing was going too far, and advised him to stop it, which he did by threats of severe punishment.

[1] How anxious I am for a partition of plunder!!

Among the soldiers of our army very heavy debts were contracted; a cross-bow was sold for fifty crowns, a musquet cost one hundred, a horse eight hundred, one thousand, and even more; and every thing else was in proportion. Then our surgeon Maestre Juan charged high, as did a Doctor Murcia who was an apothecary and barber. There were besides various other money traps, all which were to be satisfied out of our dividends. This required some regulation: Cortes accordingly appointed Sancta Clara, a very honorable person, and one Lerena, to appreciate each claim, which was to be paid according to their award, within two years. The value of the gold was also altered by increasing the alloy; this was intended to serve us in our dealing with the merchants from Europe or Cuba, but it had a contrary effect, as they were prepared, and added twice as much to the price of their goods. The alloy was copper, called here Tepuzque; for which reason we call any one of an inferior degree to another of the same name, Don Juan, or Don Alonzo Tepuzque, or the copper Don Juan &c. The abuses resulting from this being made known to his Majesty, he was pleased to forbid the currency of this base metal, ordering it to be taken in duties until it was all drawn over to Castille, and that no more of it should be made. At this time two goldsmiths were hanged here for running base metal with the legal mark.

I have digressed for some time past, and will now return to the thread of my narrative. Cortes, as the best way to get rid of troublesome companions and demands, determined now to send out colonies, and make settlements at convenient situations. For this purpose Sandoval was ordered to Tustepeque, and Guacacualco. Juan Velasquez was to go to Colima, one Villa Fuerte to Zacatula, Christoval de Oli to Mechoacan, (he was at this time married to a Portugueze lady named Donna Phillipa de Aranja,) and Francisco de Orozca to Guaxaca.

At this time the chiefs of the distant provinces could not

bring themselves to believe that Mexico was destroyed: they therefore sent deputations to ascertain the truth, and also to offer themselves as vassals to his Majesty the Emperor. All made great presents of gold to Cortes, and many came in person, and brought their children to see the state of that power once so feared by them, and used to express themselves as we say, "here Troy town stood."

Curious readers will be desirous to know how it happened, that the conquerors of Mexico who had gone through such dangers to obtain possession of that city, should now quit it to search for new settlements. To this I reply, that the books which contained the accounts of Montezuma's revenues were examined to find from whence the gold, and other valuable articles of tribute, such as cacao, and cotton manufactures, were sent; and it was to these productive districts that we wished to go. Especially, we were led by the example of Sandoval, who being known to be the particular friend of Cortes, it was not to be supposed would go upon an unprofitable enterprise. We also saw that the vicinity of the city of Mexico had neither mines, plantations, nor manufactures, but was intirely occupied by the cultivation of maize, and of maguey. This we thought did not afford us prospects sufficiently advantageous, and we went to other places where we were sadly disappointed. I waited upon Cortes to request permission to attend Sandoval; "brother B. Diaz del Castillo" said the general to me, "by my conscience you will find yourself mistaken; you had better stay with me, but if you are determined on going with your friend Sandoval, go in God's name; I will always do my utmost to take care of you, but I tell you that you will repent of it." All the gold remained with the Emperor's officers, the slaves having been purchased by the soldiers according to their valuation at a public sale. The detachments were sent out to colonize the provinces at different periods, for two months after the capture of Mexico; however I will not any farther

particularize them, not to trespass unnecessarily on my reader's time.

At this time arrived at the port of Villa Rica, Christoval de Tapia, veedor of the Island of St. Domingo, with a commission to take upon him the government of New Spain, by order of his Majesty, and under the direction of the Bishop of Burgos. He brought with him letters from the said Bishop of Burgos to Cortes and many others of his army, recommending him, to be honoured by us as governor of New Spain, and besides those which were closed and sealed, he had also with him letters filled up and which he was authorised to address as he saw occasion for his own interest. Great promises were held out to such as would come over to the new governor, and violent threats of punishment to those who made any opposition to him. Tapia first presented his commission to Alvarado, then commandant in Villa Rica. Alvarado received it with the highest respect, and said that as he was not able of himself to decide any thing, it would be necessary to assemble the alcaldes and regidors of the town, to have the commission verified before them, and also to prove the manner in which it had been transmitted, that they might know for a certainty that it came in a proper form from his Majesty's hand. This did not exactly agree with the views of Tapia. Being advised to proceed to Mexico and produce his commission to Cortes himself, he forwarded the letter of the bishop, and also wrote to Cortes upon the subject of his mission. The stile of the letters was smooth and persuasive, but the answer of Cortes was ten times more so. Cortes immediately sent expresses to some of the different officers he had detached, ordering them to go and meet Tapia who had already set out for Mexico, but was, in consequence of the direction of Cortes, met on the road by Alvarado, Sandoval, De Soto, Valdenegro, Captain Andres de Tapia, and the reverend father Fra Malgarejo. These gentlemen with much compliments and ceremony, in-

duced Christoval de Tapia to go to Cempoal; they there requested to see his commission, which being verified, and acknowledged, they placed it on their heads in token of respect and submission; but in regard to the admitting him as governor by the virtue of it, that was quite another affair; it was first necessary to know what his Majesty's pleasure was touching the affairs of New Spain, the true state of which had been concealed from him by the Bishop of Burgos, who did it to serve his own private views, and to favor Velasquez and Tapia, one of whom he intended should marry his niece. By all this it was pretty evident to Tapia, that he would not very speedily enter upon his office, and the disappointment affected him to that degree that he fell sick. Our captains wrote to Cortes letting him know all that had passed, and recommending him to send a good quantity of golden ingots, and try their effect in mollifying the fury of the would-be governor. These arrived by the return of the express, and with them they bought from him some negroes, three horses, and one of his ships; in the other Tapia embarked himself, and set sail for the Island of St. Domingo, where he was very ill received by the court of royal audience and the brothers of the order of Jeronymites, he having undertaken the business contrary to their express command; but they would not exert their power farther against one patronised by the Bishop of Burgos, his Majesty being at that time in Flanders.

I have formerly made mention of some particulars relative to an expedition set on foot by one Garay. It was to colonize and settle upon the river of Panuco. Cortes had received intelligence of it, and resolved to anticipate him by sending thither a party for the same purpose. He also now again sent Rangel to Villa Rica as commandant, and ordered Narvaez to be sent to him at Cuyoacan, where he resided until the palace which he was to inhabit in Mexico was compleated. The reason he sent for Narvaez was this; he was told that the latter had held a conversation with

Tapia, in which he advised him to quit the country on as good terms as he could get, and go to his patron the Bishop of Burgos in Castille, to lay the whole state of affairs before him; telling him also to profit by the example which his misfortunes set him, as, if he staid, he certainly would be put to death, and that success attended all the measures of Cortes. When Narvaez was brought before Cortes, he fell on his knees and attempted to kiss his hand, but our general would not permit it; he raised, and embracing Narvaez, treated him with all respect and regard, and made him sit by his side.

Cortes now proceeded to take his residence in the city of Mexico. He divided the ground into lots for the churches in the first place, then for the monasteries, the public buildings, and squares. He divided the rest of the ground among the inhabitants that were to be, and not to waste more time upon the subject, all those who have seen the present city of Mexico agree, that there is not in Christendom one more populous, larger, or better built.

While Cortes was thus employed, intelligence arrived that the province of Panuco was in arms. They are a warlike people, very numerous, and having rebelled, had killed many soldiers of the party which Cortes had sent to form a colony there. He resolved therefore to go thither in person: indeed all his captains were now absent on different duties. Our numbers had by this time received a considerable reinforcement as well of those who had come with the veedor Tapia, as of such as had been on the expedition to Florida with Vasquez de Aillon, and of many others lately arrived from the islands. He left a good garrison in Mexico under Diego de Soto, and set out on his march with one hundred and thirty cavalry, two hundred and fifty infantry, and ten thousand Mexicans. Just at this time De Oli returned from Mechoacan which he had reduced to a state of submission and peace, bringing with him the principal chief and several others, and a quantity of gold. This expedition to Panuco was very expensive; Cortes applied for a reimbursement

from the crown, which could not be acceded to; his Majesty's officers objected that it was undertaken on a private account, to prevent the establishment of a colony by Garay, and not for the public service. When he arrived at Panuco he found the people very rebellious. In the course of a few days he had two battles, in which he lost three soldiers, four horses, and above one hundred Mexicans. The number of the enemy amounted to above seventy thousand warriors, but it was God's will that we should obtain the victory, with such a slaughter of the rebels as deprived them of all thoughts of making any head for the present. These people are called the Guastecas, and Naguatecas. After the last battle Cortes again sent to summon them to submission. He employed for this purpose some of the prisoners, and sent with them Fra Bartholome, by whose exhortations they were induced to submit.

Cortes then went with one half of his troops to the river Chila, to reduce the Indians on the opposite side. He summoned them, but they murdered his messengers. He then passed over one hundred and fifty infanty, and fifty cavalry, during the night. The enemy on their landing fell on them in great numbers, but they were soon driven from the field, and our troops advancing took their quarters in a town where they found plenty of provisions. In the morning some of them entering the temple found remains of the bodies and clothes of our countrymen; some of our soldiers thought they recognised the features of their friends, and it was a melancholy sight to all; their remains we carefully collected and buried.

From this place our detachment marched to another, where an out party reported, that great bodies of the enemy were posted in concealment in the houses to fall upon our people when the cavalry had dismounted; their plan being discovered failed of success, but they fought valiantly for half an hour, and three of our soldiers died afterwards of their wounds. These people contrary to the general prac-

tice of Indians, rallied no less than three times. On the ensuing day our soldiers scoured the neighbourhood, and entering some towns which had been abandoned, found a quantity of earthen vessels, full of the wine of the country, in cellars under ground. After a stay of five days they returned to the river of Chila. Cortes now again summoned them, to which they returned for answer that they would come within four days; which Cortes waited out, but to no effect. He therefore determined to punish them, and during a dark and rainy night, embarking a large body of Mexicans, he sent them across a lake to one of the enemy's largest towns, which they totally destroyed. This brought in most of that country to submit. Cortes founded a town of one hundred and thirty houses, sixty three of the inhabitants whereof were soldiers. He named it Villa de St. Estevan del Puerto. It is situated about a league from Chila. He allotted to it all the neighbouring districts which had submitted, and gave the command to Pedro Valego. Cortes was informed that three districts which had been concerned in the murder of many Spaniards, but which had been now received under allegiance, intended to fall on this post as soon as he quitted the country. He in consequence marched against them and destroyed their towns, but they soon established them again.

A vessel which Cortes had ordered to come to him with provisions and necessaries was at this time lost in some strong gales from the north, whereby the new settlement was much distressed.

Cortes on his return to Mexico was informed of depredations committed on the peaceable districts, by some of the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, whom he determined to chastise in his way, but they anticipated him, by falling upon his rear and robbing the baggage in a bad pass; our allies the Mexicans made them pay well for this insult, and two of their chiefs were hanged. Cortes then ordered hostilities to cease, and the people, on being summoned,

came in and submitted. In the place of the chief, who was executed, Cortes appointed his brother, after which he proceeded to Mexico. In all the provinces of New Spain none was so bad for savage and evil manners, as that of Panuco. They made human sacrifices, and were cruel to an excess, drunkards, filthy, and wicked, with thirty other turpitudes. They were punished with fire and sword two or three times, and greater misfortunes befell them when Nuno de Guzman came to be their governor, for he made them all slaves, and sold them in the islands.

Alonzo de Avila whom I have formerly mentioned, was now returned with powers from the court of royal audience and the brothers of the order of St. Jeronymo, whereby we were authorised to pursue our conquests, to mark slaves, and to make settlements according to the practice in the Islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. They also sent a report of what steps they had taken, to Castille. His Majesty was then in Flanders, where it was laid before him. Had De Avila been here at the time of Tapia's arrival he might have been very troublesome, for he was an adherent of the Bishop of Burgos, and had been bred up in his house. For these reasons, and by the advice of Almedo, Cortes to put him in good humour gave him the district of Guatitlan, one of the richest in that country. He also presented him with a considerable quantity of gold, and a much greater of kind words and promises, by which he won him so completely over to his interest that he afterwards sent him as his agent to Castille; at which time several gigantic human bones were transmitted, together with a quantity of gold, pearls, and valuable jewels. The bones were found in a temple at Cuyoacan; they were prodigiously large, and similar to those which we had procured in Tlascala and sent to Castille. The agents also brought over with them three tigers, and many other things of a curious nature, which I do not recollect. One part of their business was to transmit memorials to his Majesty from the council of Mexico, and from us the conquerors of

New Spain, requesting that he would send us over holy men of good life and example, as bishops and clergymen. Also praying, that in consideration of our meritorious services, all offices of honour and emolument should be given amongst us, and the government to Cortes, as the only fit and proper person. Also that his Majesty would be pleased not to suffer any scholars, or men of letters to come into this country, to throw us into confusion with their learning, quibbles, and books. We further represented the insufficiency of Christoval de Tapia, who was only sent by the Bishop of Burgos to effect a marriage between the said Tapia, and the bishop's niece, Donna Petronila de Fonseca. We also deprecated the interference of the bishop in the affairs of this country as being obstructive of our plans of conquests for his Majesty's service, adding that we were ready to receive his Majesty's commands, prostrate on the ground, but had thought it our duty to inform him of these particulars, which had been artfully kept from his knowledge. All this, and more, was represented in the fullest light, for his Majesty's information, and to do away the misrepresentations of the said Bishop of Burgos, whose enmity was manifest in his having prohibited the Casa de Contractation of Seville from sending us any supplies. Cortes also left nothing in his inkstand which could be of service to our interests, for he wrote a memorial of twenty one pages, which I read, and certify to be to the full tenor and effect of what I have related. He also farther petitioned, that his Majesty would permit him to go to the island of Cuba, to apprehend Velasquez the governor thereof, and send him as a prisoner to Castille, for the injuries done by him to the general service, more especially in sending an order to put Cortes to death.

Our agents sailed from the port of Vera Cruz, on the twentieth of December one thousand five hundred and twenty two, without any particular occurrence on the voyage to the Terceras, except the breaking loose of two tigers, who wounded some sailors, and their being obliged to kill the

other on account of his ferocity. At the Island of Tercera Captain Anthonio de Quinones lost his life. He was very amorous, and in a quarrel concerning a lady there, as he piqued himself upon his valor a duel ensued, in which he received a sword wound on the head, and died in three days. Thus the business remained in the hands of Alonzo de Avila only. As he pursued his voyage to Europe, he fell in with a French privateer commanded by Juan Florin, who made prize of him, his ship, and all the treasure. This captain took another ship from St. Domingo with a valuable cargo of sugar, and hides, as also twenty thousand crowns of gold, and a quantity of pearls, so that he returned to France very rich, and made great presents to the King, and also to the admiral of France, the people whereof were astonished at the magnificence of what we sent to our great Emperor. The King of France said that the wealth we supplied was sufficient alone to enable our Monarch to wage war against him, and yet Peru was not at this time known. It is also reported that the King sent to our Emperor, to say, that he and the King of Portugal had divided the world between them, without giving him a share, and that he desired to see the will of our father Adam, to know if he had made them exclusively his heirs. Florin in his next expedition fell in with a strong Biscayan squadron, by which he was defeated and made prisoner, and being transmitted to Spain, he was hanged at the Island of Teneriffe. Thus was an end of him, his ships, and our treasure.

Avila was confined a close prisoner in France, but he succeeded in gaining the friendship of the officer in whose custody he was, and obtained means of communicating with his friends in Spain, to whom he transmitted all the papers and documents with which he had been entrusted, and which were laid before his Majesty by the means of the licentiate Nunez, cousin to Cortes and relator of the royal council, Martin Cortes his father, and Diego de Ordaz. The Emperor was pleased on due consideration to order, that all

favor should be shewn to Cortes, and that farther proceedings should be suspended until his Majesty's return to Spain.

The intelligence of the loss of the treasure was received by us as a most serious disappointment. The district of Guatitlan was honorably reserved by Cortes for Avila, notwithstanding his captivity, and his brother succeeded to it three years after, Alonzo de Avila being then appointed contador of Yucatan.

The two captains, Sandoval and Alvarado, after the settlement with Tapia, returned to their detachments, and proceeded on their expeditions, of which I will now give an account.

Chapter ii.

Expeditions of G. de Sandoval and P. de Alvarado.

When our party (for I went with Sandoval) arrived at Tustepeque, I took up my lodgings in the summit of a tower in a very high temple, partly for the fresh air and to avoid the musquitos which were very troublesome below, and partly to be near Sandoval's quarters. It was here that seventy two soldiers of those who came with Narvaez, and six Castillian women had been put to death. The whole province on our arrival came in and submitted, except the Mexican chief, who had been the cause of the deaths of our soldiers. Him Sandoval got arrested, and he was shortly after executed, being burned alive. There were many more as guilty but this example was judged sufficient. After this was done a message was sent to the Zapotecan mountaineers to come in and submit. Their country is about ten leagues distant from Tustepeque. On their refusal an expedition was ordered against them, under the command of a Captain Briones, who according to his own account had been a great officer in Italy. He marched with one hundred infantry and about the same number of Indian allies; the enemy were prepared for him, and laid a plan for a surprise, which they effected so completely that they drove our party over the rocks, rolling down to the bottom, and above a third of them were wounded, one of whom afterwards died. The district is so very difficult of access, that troops can only pass in single file, and the climate is very misty and humid. The natives are armed with large lances with an ell of blade, with two edges of stone as sharp as a razor, and pliable shields which cover the whole body. They are very nimble, and give their signals by whistlings which echo among the

rocks with inconceivable shrillness. This district is called Tiltepeque. After it had been brought to submission the government of it was assigned to a soldier named Ojeda, who now lives in St. Ildefonso. Sandoval who was a good humoured man began to joke with Briones at his return, upon the bad success of his expedition, asking him if ever he had seen the like in Italy; for Briones was always giving accounts how he had severed men in two, and cut their heads off, &c. He was not pleased with Sandoval's jocularity, and swore he had rather fight the Turks and Moors, than the Zapotecans. This expedition was of little use, but on the contrary injurious. There was another district of the Zapotecans which was called Xaltepeque, the people of which were at war with their neighbours, and immediately on being summoned waited on Sandoval with handsome presents, and a considerable quantity of gold partly formed into toys, and the rest in ten little tubes; their chiefs wore very long robes of cotton reaching to the feet, richly embroidered, and resembling the upper robes of the Moors. They applied to him for some of his soldiers to assist them against their enemies named the Minxes. This the state of his force did not permit him to comply with, but he promised to transmit an application to Mexico for a reinforcement for them, and in the interval would send some of his men to see the country and the nature of the passes; but his real object was to examine their mines. Thus he dismissed them all except three, sending eight of us upon the business I have mentioned.

There were two of the same name in this party, for we had three Castillos in our army. I who at that time prided myself upon my dress, was named Castillo "the gallant." My namesake who went on his expedition was a man of very slow speech, not replying to a question for a length of time, and then he came out with some absurdity; he was named Castillo "the thoughtfull." The other who was very smart and ready in all he said was called Castillo "the

prompt." But to have done with our witticisms and proceed with my narrative. On our arrival, the Indians turned over the earth in three different rivers, and in each they found gold, filling four tubes of the size of the middle finger with it, and with these we returned. Sandoval thought that all our fortunes were now made; he took a district to himself from which he immediately procured fifteen thousand crowns. To Captain Luis Marin he gave Xaltepeque from whence we had obtained the gold. This turned out however very indifferently. He gave me a very profitable district there; would to God I had kept it! it consisted of three places named Matallan, Ozotequipa, and Oriaca, where is now the ingenio of the viceroy: but I thought it more consistent with my character to go with Sandoval upon his expeditions. Sandoval called his town Medellin, after the birth place of Cortes. The river De las Vanderas from which the fifteen thousand crowns were procured is the port, and it was here that the merchandise from Castille was discharged until Vera Cruz became the emporium.

We now proceeded on our route for Guacacualco. The province of Citla through which we passed has the most pleasant climate, and the greatest plenty of provisions, of any we had seen in this continent; its extent is about twelve leagues, in length and breadth, and it is very populous. The chiefs immediately submitted. On our arrival at the river of Guacacualco, those of that district, which is the head one of all the neighbouring people, on being summoned did not appear, which we considered as a declaration of hostility, and such in fact was their first determination; but after five days had passed, they waited on Sandoval with a present of some trinkets of fine gold. By his directions they collected one hundred canoes, in which our troops crossed the river, after we had first sent four soldiers to observe and report the state of the people. The town which we founded here we called Del Espiritu Santo, which sublime name was given

to it because it was on that day we defeated Narvaez; it was also our word in the battle, and it was on the same day that we crossed this river. Here the flower of our army was established, and it is certain that when we went out to the square upon a festival or review, we mustered eighty cavalry; a greater number in proportion than five hundred now, horses were then so scarce and dear. Sandoval having examined and considered the situation of the neighbouring districts, made repartitions of them as most convenient to the different settlements. The districts he allotted to his of Guacacualco were Guazpaltepeque, Tepeca, Chinanta, the Zapotecas, Copilco, Cimatan, Tabasco, Cachula, the Zoques, Techeapa, Cinacatan, the Quilenes and Papanahausta. We had much trouble afterwards on account of litigation with Vera Cruz concerning three of them. Guazpaltepeque, Chinanta, and Tepeca; with the town of Tabasco concerning two others, Cimatan, and Copilco, also with Chiapa concerning two, the Quilenes and Zoques, and with St. Ildefonso about the Zapotecas. I was very sorry I fixed myself here; the lands were very poor, and it turned out altogether to my disadvantage. Still we should have done very well had we been left as we were at first; but when the new settlements were formed our possessions were clipped, to accommodate them; whereby our colony fell to decay, from being the best, and containing the greatest number of the generous conquerors of Mexico; but it is at present a place of very few inhabitants.

Sandoval now received intelligence of the arrival of Donna Catalina lady of our general Hernando Cortes, and her brother, at the river of Aguayalco. La Zambrana also and her family arrived with them, and Elvira Lopez "the tall," married to Juan de Palma who was afterwards hanged. We all set out to pay our respects to these ladies, and I recollect the roads were almost impassable from the constant and heavy rains. Donna Catalina and the rest were escorted by us to our town of Guacacualco, and we sent word to Cortes of

their arrival. After a short stay with us they set out for Mexico. Cortes was very sorry for their coming, but he put the best face upon it, and received them with great pomp and rejoicings. In about three months after the arrival of Donna Catalina, we heard of her having died of an asthma.

Villafuerte who had been sent to Zacatula, and Alvarez Chico who had also gone to Colima, were unsuccessful in their endeavours to bring those provinces into submission. Cortes then sent a party thither commanded by Christoval de Oli; the natives attacked him on his march, killing two of his soldiers; but he reached the station of Villafuerte who was afraid to stir out of it, and the enemy had even killed four of his men in the town. De Oli however before he departed reduced both these districts to submission. I do not know what became of Captain Juan Alvarez, but I believe he was killed in some of the actions with the natives at this time. De Oli returned to Mexico, but had hardly got there when intelligence arrived of three provinces being again in rebellion. Sandoval had at this time arrived at Mexico with the ladies. Cortes sent him with a small party of our veterans to take these districts into his hands, which he did, and punished, and regulated them in such a manner, that we heard no more of their being refractory.

Several of the districts subject to Guacacualco rebelled on the departure of Sandoval, killing the Spaniards employed in the management of the tribute; amongst others were the Xaltepeque Zapotecas, Cimatan, and Copilco; the first of which is difficult of access on account of its mountains, the two others on account of lakes and marshes, and they were not brought to subjection but with the greatest difficulty.

At this time, and while Captain Luis Marin was employed in subjugating these districts, arrived at our settlement in a small vessel which came up to the town, Juan Buono the Biscayan. He immediately summoned us all to a meeting, where, after some compliments on both sides, he opened his business to us, which was, to induce us to accept as governor

Christoval de Tapia, of whose return to St. Domingo Buono was ignorant. Large offers were made by the Bishop of Burgos in unaddressed letters, which Buono had a discretionary power of directing to such as would support his views. These he accordingly sent to such as he found to hold offices; I was offered a regidor's place. When Buono heard that Tapia was no longer in the country he was very much disappointed. We referred him to Cortes at Mexico, whither he went; I do not know what passed between them, but I believe Cortes sent him back to Castille with some money in his pocket.

Amongst others who courted the alliance of the Spaniards after the conquest of Mexico, were the people called the Tutepeque Zapotecans. They applied very earnestly for our assistance against a nation which was in hostility to them, named likewise the Tutepeques, whom they represented as possessing a very rich country. Accordingly in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty two, Alvarado, by the order of Cortes, marched from Mexico with one hundred and eighty soldiers, infantry and cavalry, with an order to take twenty more in his march to the province of Guaxaca, and also to visit certain rocky districts said to be in rebellion. He was forty days upon his route from Mexico to Tutepeque; on his arrival he was hospitably received, and lodged in the most populous part of the city, where the houses joined, and were roofed with straw, it not being the custom of that country to have terraces on their house-tops, as the climate is very sultry. By the advice of Olmedo it was determined that our troops should remove to a more open part of the town, lest, in case of any treachery on the part of the people, their quarters should be set fire to. When they were fixed the chief of the town brought them provisions, and every day some rich present of gold. Alvarado desired a pair of stirrups of this metal, which was done according to the pattern. In a few days after, the chief was made prisoner, on an information from the Indians of Teguantepeque, who were in

hostility to these, of his intention to burn the Spaniards in the quarters which they had first assigned to them in the temples. Some of the Spaniards say, it was to extort gold from him; however it was, he died in prison, after Alvarado had got from him to the value of thirty thousand crowns. Apparently his death was owing to vexation, though Fra Bartholome did what he could to console and encourage him. His son was permitted to succeed him in the chieftainry. Alvarado obtained from him more than he had got from the father, and then proceeded to establish a colony which he named Segura, as the colonists were mostly from Tepeaca, named by us Segura de la Frontera.

Alvarado then set out on his return, with all his wealth; for Cortes had written to him to collect what he could, to send to Castille. The soldiers being thus excluded from any share, some of them formed a conspiracy to assassinate Alvarado and his brothers. They were principally musqueteers and crossbow-men. A soldier of the name of Tribejo gave information to Fra Bartholome, a few hours before it was to be attempted. The reverend father having called Alvarado aside, and informed him of what he had heard, at the hour of vespers, when the latter was riding out in company with several of the conspirators, and passing by some houses, he said to them, "Gentlemen I am suddenly taken ill with a pain in my side, let us return, and call a barber to bleed me." On his arrival he immediately sent for his brothers George and Gonzalo, together with the alcaldes and alguazils. He then ordered them to arrest the assassins, two of whom were hanged; one was named Salamanca; he had been a pilot. The other was called Barnardino Levantisco. They both died like good christians, the reverend father taking great pains to bring them to a due sense of their situation.

Alvarado now returned to Mexico, leaving a colony in this place; but when the colonists found that the gold had been drawn away, that the climate was hot and unhealthy, and infested with musquitos, bugs, and other vermin, and

that they and their slaves were dying fast, they determined to abandon it, some going to Mexico, and some to other places. Cortes on hearing of the settlement being thus renounced, caused an enquiry to be set on foot, and found that it had been determined by the alcaldes and regidors in council, for which he condemned them to suffer death, which was afterwards mitigated at the intercession of Olmedo to banishment. Thus fell to the ground the colony of Segura or Tutepeque, a very fertile country, but unhealthy. The cruelty and extortion of Alvarado alienated the minds of the people, and they threw of their allegiance; but that officer returning thither brought them again to submission, and they afterwards continued peaceable.

Chapter iii.

Armament of Francisco de Garay.

I HAVE already made mention of F. de Garay, who was governor of the Island of Jamaica. When he heard of the riches that had been acquired here by Diego Velasquez, and of the fertile countries which had been discovered, stimulated by his avarice, and encouraged by the reflection on his wealth and means, Garray was induced to try his fortune.

Having therefore sent for, and discoursed with Alaminos our principal pilot upon the subject, his account was so favorable that he determined on sending a confidential person one Juan de Torralva, to obtain from the Bishop of Burgos the government of the country about the river Panuco. His application having been successful he sent an armament of three ships, with two hundred and forty soldiers, under the command of Alonzo Alvarez Pinedo or Pineda, which was defeated by the Indians of Panuco, one ship only escaping, and joining us at Villa Rica.

Garay receiving no intelligence of his first armament, sent a second, which also arrived at our port; and having now expended much treasure, and learning the good fortune of Cortes, he was more than ever stimulated to make exertions. He therefore fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships, and embarked one hundred and thirty six cavalry, and eight hundred and forty foot soldiers, mostly musqueteers and crossbowmen. The fleet under his command sailed from Jamaica in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty three, on the day of St. John, and arrived without any particular occurrence at a port called Xagua in the Island of Cuba. On his arrival here, he learned the news of Cortes having brought the province of Panuco under subjection, and that he had

sent a petition to his Majesty to be appointed to the government of it. He was also told of the heroic actions of Cortes and his companions in arms, and of our having defeated Narvaez with only two hundred and seventy soldiers. He was therefore struck with awe at the power of our chief, and the more so when he was visited by the Licentiate Zuazo. One day discoursing with this gentleman on the fortunes of Cortes, he expressed his apprehensions of a difference between them relative to the government of Panuco, and requested that Zuazo would mediate with Cortes in his favor, to which the other assented.

Shortly after this, Garay with his armament set out, and being forced by a storm into the river Palmas, he there disembarked and marched for Panuco. Knowing also that Cortes had made an establishment there, he thought it necessary to take an oath of fidelity from those under his command, and he nominated the officers requisite for the establishment of his colony, which he meant to name the city of Garayana.

Having advanced for two days march along the sea shore through an uninhabited and marshy country, he with his troops arrived at some villages, whose inhabitants received and entertained them hospitably, but, many of the soldiers staying behind, robbed and injured the people. Garay continued his march and at length arrived at Panuco, which the troops had painted to themselves as the end of their labours, but were sadly undeceived by finding it almost a desert, for the war of Cortes had wasted it, or what remained was concealed on the approach of the Spaniards, who found nothing but bare walls, where they were to sustain the attack of flies, and vermin of every description. One misfortune following another, he could get no intelligence from his fleet, but learned by a Spaniard who having committed some crime was a fugitive among the Indians, that it had not arrived at the port. The same person gave a very unfavorable account of the country of Panuco, enhancing that of Mexico, and this

making a strong impression on the minds of Garay's soldiers, they began to disband, and went towards Mexico, robbing the natives in their way.

All these things combined reduced Garay to a bad situation, and he sent one of his officers named Diego de Ocampo, to sound the disposition of the governor under Cortes in the colony of Santistevan, to whom he notified the appointment he had obtained from his Majesty. This officer answered Garay's message politely, and returned a favorable answer as to their reception, requesting that the soldiers might not outrage the inhabitants; Pedro de Vallejo, for that was his name, at the same time sent an express to Cortes with Garay's letter, and sollicited a strong reinforcement, or the presence of Cortes himself.

On the receipt of the intelligence from Vallejo, Cortes dispatched Fra Bartholome, Alvarado, Sandoval, and Gonzalo de Ocampo, brother to the person of that name who was with Garay, and entrusted to them the instructions he had received, whereby his Majesty's pleasure was signified, that all his conquests should be left under his command, until the matters in dispute between him and Velasquez should be brought judicially to an issue.

I will now return to my relation of the steps taken by Garay, who advanced with his force into the neighbourhood of St. Estevan del Puerto. On receiving intelligence thereof, Vallejo concerted a plan with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and being guided by five deserters who told him that Garay's troops were scattered negligently in a large town called Nacoplan, he came upon them by surprise, and made forty of them prisoners, assigning as a reason, their coming without producing any commission, and the outrages which they committed on the inhabitants. This being reported to Garay, he demanded the prisoners, threatening Vallejo with the vengeance of government. Vallejo replied, that when he saw his Majesty's orders he would obey them with all humility, and requesting that they should be sent to him. At

this moment the persons deputed by Cortes arrived, and Diego de Ocampo being at that time first alcalde under Cortes in Mexico, began to remonstrate against the entrance of Garay's force into that country, and several days were passed in remonstrances and replies. During this time numbers of Garay's soldiers deserted from him; thus he saw every day his force diminishing, and that of Cortes encreasing. From his fleet he had intelligence, that two of his ships had been lost in a tempest, and that the remainder, which were at the mouth of the river, had received and rejected a friendly invitation from Vallejo to remove higher up to a place of security, threatening at the same time, that in case of refusal he would consider them as pirates.

Vallejo continued secretly to negociate with the officers of the fleet, and having succeeded with two of them, they went to the ship of the commodore Juan de Grijalva, and informed him that he should either bring his vessel into the river, or quit the place entirely. To this Grijalva only answered by discharging his artillery, but on the receipt of certain letters from Alvarado and Fra Bartholome, accompanied with promises conveyed by a royal notary he was at last induced to accede to the first proposition. No sooner had he brought his ship into port than Vallejo declared all on board prisoners to his general Cortes; he was persuaded however by Fra Bartholome to give them their liberty, from motives of humanity, which as he said was the method of acting most agreeable to God and to Cæsar.

The unfortunate Garay entreated the officers of Cortes to restore his ships, and to compel his troops to return to him, promising to give up his intended establishment, and make the best of his way to the river Palmas. This proposal was acceded to, and every measure taken to deliver up to him his deserters, though with little effect; for the soldiers despised Garay, and as to the oath of service, they said that they had complied with it in coming to Panuco. Garay was then in the utmost despair, and finally agreed to adopt the measure

advised by the officers of Cortes, in writing to that general, stating his situation, and praying his protection in consideration of their former intimacy. This request was acceded to by Cortes, who sent an invitation to him to come to Mexico. Garay set out upon his journey, and when he approached the city of Mexico, he was met by Cortes at the head of a number of Spanish gentlemen on horseback, who conducted him to his newly built palace, and having heard the detail of his distresses, he promised him redress, and referred the affair to Fra Bartholome, Alvarado, and Sandoval. Fra Bartholome, to bind Cortes and Garay in stronger ties of friendship proposed an alliance between the daughter of Cortes, named Donna Catalina Cortes or Pizarro, and the eldest son of Garay, who then held a command in his fleet. Cortes accepting the proposal gave his daughter a liberal fortune, adding an assent to Garay's colonizing on the river of Palmas, and a promise to support the undertaking.

Garay was now induced to intercede with the general, and obtained permission for Narvaez to visit the Island of Cuba; for which favor Narvaez was very thankful, and took his leave of Cortes with many professions of gratitude and service. As to Garay and his expedition, both one and the other approached their end, for he, attending Cortes to early mattins, and having walked about the church, and eaten his breakfast, was suddenly seized with a pleurisy, which after a course of bleeding and purging was declared mortal. This was announced to him by Fra Bartholome, who accompanied the fatal news with earnest exhortations to him, to advert to the state of his soul, and not lose that in the next world, as he had already thrown away his fortune in this. Garay was impressed by the arguments of the good father, and having confessed, and had the rites of the church administered, he made his will, leaving Cortes and Fra Bartholome his executors, and in four days from the time he was first seized he gave up the ghost. This we observe peculiarly to belong to the climate of these countries; that in four days

pleurisies are fatal, of which we had many instances amongst our soldiers, both in Tezcuco and in Cuyoacan. However Garay being now dead, God pardon him his sins! amen. He received an honourable funeral, and Cortes and the other officers put themselves into mourning. Thus died Garay in a distant country, a strange house, and far from his wife and children. As to his armament, being now left without any head a competition arose for the command, between Juan de Grigalva, Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonzo de Mendoza, Lorenzo de Alloa, Juan de Medina, Juan de Villa, Anthonio de la Cerda, and a certain Tobarda the most seditious fellow in the whole army. The young Garay however was ultimately made general, contrary to the inclination of every soldier; the consequence of which was, that they separated in small bodies of fifteen or twenty, and went through the country pillaging as if they had been amongst Moors. This enraging the Indians they laid a plot to cut all the Spaniards off, which they so effectually executed, that in a few days they had sacrificed and eaten more than five hundred of Garay's soldiers. In some towns upwards of a hundred Spaniards were sacrificed together. In other places they fell on and massacred these wanderers without resistance, and encouraged thereby, they rose against the settlement of St. Estevan in such numbers, that it was with great difficulty they could be kept out of it, nor would they have been, but for seven or eight of the veterans of Cortes, who supported Vallejo, a brave man, and experienced officer. These gallant veterans induced many of Garay's Spaniards to abide by them in the open field, being obliged to fight three battles, in one of which Vallejo was killed, and many were wounded. So desperate did the Indians grow, that one night they killed and burned forty Spaniards and fifteen horses, and among the soldiers who were killed were several of those of Cortes.

When the general heard of these outrages he was exceedingly displeased, and determined to go in person to suppress

them; but being at that moment prevented, having broken his arm by accident, he dispatched Gonzalo de Sandoval, with one hundred infantry, fifty cavalry, two pieces of artillery, and fifteen arcabusiers, to whom he joined eight thousand Mexicans and Tlascalans, with orders not to quit those districts until he had so completely subjugated them, as that it should not be in their power again to make disturbance. Sandoval was a man who did not sleep at night when on any business of importance; of course he made no delay upon his route, towards the enemy, who expected him in two narrow defiles, where they had concentrated the whole force of the refractory provinces. Sandoval on learning this divided his force into two bodies, and attacked each of these posts. The Indians resisted with their darts and arrows, whereby many of our soldiers were wounded, insomuch that he was obliged to halt the body which he commanded in that bad position, and send orders to his other detachment to do the same for that night. The Indians retaining their first position, Sandoval recalled his detachment, and began his retreat towards Mexico. When the enemy perceived this, they thought themselves conquerors, and began to follow and surround the Spaniards from all parts, shouting at, and reviling them. This Sandoval seemed not to regard, but continued his retreat, by which having completely deceived them, he made a sudden countermarch at midnight, to gain the passes. This he effected, but not without the loss of three of his horses, and considerable danger to his whole army, many of whom were wounded. No sooner were his two columns clear of the defiles, than he perceived in front vast bodies of Indians, who had arrived there that very night, on hearing that he had countermarched. He therefore again brought his whole force into one body, and perceiving the desperation with which the Indians fought, and that they had actually wrested the lances out of the hands of six of his soldiers, while his cavalry was composed of men unused to such service, he gave them full instructions how to act, telling

them not to halt to give thrusts, because the first thing that the Indian does when wounded is, to seize the lance. He farther directed, that if such a thing happened, the soldier should put spurs to his horse, and with the lance firmly grasped in his hand, and under his arm, wrest it from the enemy by the force of the horse. Having then placed watches, guards, and patroles, he gave orders that the cavalry should remain saddled all night, and the troops went to their repose on the bank of a river. The Mexicans and Tlascalans were posted at a little distance, for Sandoval knew by experience, that if the enemy attacked him in the night, he would be little benefited by them.

As soon as daylight appeared, Sandoval put his army into march, but had hardly advanced half a mile when he heard the sound of the drums of the Indians, and he was shortly after fronted by three large bodies of their warriors, who attempted to surround him. As soon as Sandoval perceived this, he made an attack upon them with his cavalry in two squadrons with such spirit that he entirely broke and dispersed them. This was not however effected without the loss of two soldiers and three horses. Our allies then made considerable destruction, burning all before them, until the army arrived at St. Estevan del Puerto. The remains of this colony Sandoval found in a wretched state, and he was received as one who saved them from destruction, and the soldiers of Garay who were there assured him, that the preservation of what remained was solely owing to our veterans. Sandoval then divided his cavalry, musqueteers, and cross-bow-men, into different bodies, and placed them under the command of the veterans, with orders to carry on the war with vigour against the neighbouring Indians, and to send in what provisions they could collect, for he was unable to go out, in consequence of a bad wound. During three days his parties sent in a number of prisoners of the lower class, together with five chiefs, the former of whom Sandoval released. He then gave out an order to his troops not to

send in any but such as had been present at, or concerned, where the lives of Spaniards had been lost.

Sandoval now prepared for an expedition against the enemy, and on the day after, marched out with those troops which he had brought from Mexico, and by skilful measures succeeded in taking twenty caciques, who had commanded where no less than six hundred Spaniards had been put to death. Pursuing mild and severe measures at the same time, according to the circumstances, he summoned the neighbouring towns to a treaty of peace. Some acceded to his proposals, but others neglected to attend. With the latter he dissimulated, thinking it best not to notice their contumacy, and wrote to Cortes giving a full account of what he had done, and desiring to know how the prisoners should be disposed of. Cortes on receiving these satisfactory accounts appointed Sandoval to succeed Vallejo, as commandant at St. Estevan, and informed him, that for the sake of justice, and to prevent future mischief, it was necessary to punish with death those who had been any way concerned in, or who had abetted the murders of Spaniards, and he gave directions to the alcalde Diego de Ocampo, to take the necessary steps against them, with orders to execute such as should be legally condemned. He gave orders that every necessary measure also should be taken to conciliate the natives of that province, and that proper steps should be adopted to prevent any future outrages on the part of Garay's troops. These letters, the contents of which were highly satisfactory to Sandoval having reached him, he proceeded conjointly with Ocampo to put the orders of Cortes into execution. In two days after their receipt they proceeded to the trial of those caciques who were accused, and many being found guilty by evidence, or their own confession, were put to death. Some were burnt and others hanged; many also were pardoned, and the districts were given to the children and heirs of such as suffered. These acts of justice being done, Ocampo in compliance with the farther instructions he had received

from Cortes, proceeded against all those Spaniards who had committed outrages, robberies, or murders; or who, going through the country in bands, had invited other soldiers to desert to them; and having seized and collected together these public disturbers, he caused them to embark for the Island of Cuba. To Juan de Grijalva Cortes offered the alternative of accepting a present of two thousand crowns, and a passage to Cuba, or if he preferred staying in the country, an honorable reception at Mexico; Grijalva and all the others were anxious however to return and accordingly they set sail for that island.

Sandoval and Ocampo having thus cleared the colony of these troublesome inmates, returned to Mexico, leaving an officer of the name of Vallecillo governor of the settlement. On their arrival they were received by Cortes and every one there as their services merited, for a general apprehension prevailed of some misfortune occurring on that expedition. Such was the success of the measures pursued as I have above related, that there never was another insurrection in that province.

The reader has been told how the Licentiate Zuazo met with Garay in the Island of Cuba, and that the latter made pressing invitation to him to take a part in his expedition. Zuazo agreed to this proposal, and promised to follow, as soon as he could give up his office. Having effected this he embarked, taking with him two brothers of the order of mercy, Fra Gonzalo de Pontevedra, and Fra Juan de Varillas. These three persons pursuing their voyage, fell among some small islands named Las Viboras, very fatal to vessels. Here, they were obliged to throw overboard their provisions, and the pieces of pork attracted a number of sharks, one of which seized a sailor, and tore him to pieces, so that the whole water round them was discoloured with his blood. They were then obliged to run the vessel on shore, and in this situation they were left. Two Indians of Cuba who were with them had the art of obtaining fire by rubbing two

dry sticks together; in the sand they found some brackish water, and a quantity of turtles came ashore to lay their eggs. Thus they obtained provisions sufficient to sustain thirteen persons. The sailors also contrived to kill the sea wolves which in the night were frequently found on the shore. Amongst the crew were two ship carpenters, who had preserved their working tools. Out of the wreck of the vessel they constructed a small sailing boat in which three mariners and one Indian embarked for New Spain, and made the port of Calchocuca in the river Vanderas. From thence they went to Medellin, and informing the governor of the situation in which they had left the Licentiate, he sent a vessel in search of them. The vessel arrived at the island but Fra Gonzalo died a few days before. The rest, shortly arrived at Medellin; from whence they went to Mexico, where they had all reason to be satisfied with the reception they met with from Cortes, who made Zuazo his alcalde major.

Chapter iv.

Expeditions under various officers.

As the views of Cortes were always lofty and tending towards domination, and as he was well supported by the talents and bravery of his captains and soldiers, after having established his power in the great city of Mexico, and in Guaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, Vera Cruz, Panuco, and Guacacualco, he learned that in the province of Guatimala, there were populous nations, and rich mines. He therefore determined to send a force under Pedro de Alvarado, to conquer and colonize that country, and having first sent an embassy thither, ineffectually, Alvarado at the head of three hundred infantry, and one hundred and thirty five cavalry, two hundred Tlascalans and Cholulans, and one hundred Mexican allies, with four pieces of cannon, was ordered to march to that province.

Cortes gave instructions to Alvarado, that he should if possible bring those nations over to him by peaceable methods, and that Fra Bartholome should preach to them upon the articles of our holy religion; that all prisons and cages should be broken in pieces, and the prisoners set at liberty.

The expedition set out from Mexico, on the thirteenth day of December, one thousand five hundred and twenty three. On his march Alvarado received the submission of the district named the rocks of Guelamo, and there obtained many rich presents of Gold. When the army, passing the provinces of the Zapotecas of Teguantepeque, and by Soconusco, which last place contained upwards of fifteen thousand houses, came into the neighbourhood of a place called Zapotitlan, at a river over which there was a bridge, they perceived a num-

ber of bodies of warriors drawn up to dispute the passage with them. An action ensued in which many soldiers were wounded, and a horse killed. So numerous were the Indians, that the Spaniards could not break or disperse them without three very hard fought battles.

From this place Alvarado continued his march, under constant alarms from the neighbouring Indians of Quetzaltenango, and after some time he arrived at a defile which ascends a mountain, for the length of about a league and a half. When he arrived at the summit, he found there an Indian woman, very fat, and having with her a dog of that species which they breed in order to eat, and which do not bark. This Indian was a witch; she was in the act of sacrificing the dog, which is a signal of hostility. Shortly after, our army perceived multitudes of armed Indians advancing upon them on all sides, in a difficult broken tract of ground, where the cavalry could not charge. The infantry advanced, but our troops soon perceived that these Indians acted upon a regular plan; for they retreated into the most rough and difficult ground, where above six thousand of the warriors of Utatlan, which is adjacent to Quetzaltenango, fell upon our people. They were however for the present put to flight, but soon rallied, being reinforced by fresh troops in great numbers, who waited our advance, and fought our troops foot to foot parties of three or four of them seizing a horse before and behind, and endeavouring to pull him to the ground. During this time the exertions of Alvarado, and the exhortations of Fra Bartholome, who represented to our soldiers the service which they owed to God, and that they must conquer or die, for the extension of our holy faith, never ceased; thus animated, our troops completely succeeded in dispersing the Indians. They then halted in the field and were unmolested by the enemy for three days; after which they advanced to the town of Quetzaltenango.

Meaning to give some repose to his troops, Alvarado was disappointed to find that the Indians were now assembled in

greater force, and determined to attack him in his post. On their approach, to the number of about sixteen thousand, for their army was composed of two Xiquipils, Alvarado drew out his troops in a plain, and advancing upon the enemy, completely defeated them, with such loss, that for a long time after, they remained completely under awe of the Spaniards.

The chiefs now proposed to treat for a peace, and sent ambassadors to Alvarado who received them kindly, but they had at the same time arranged a plan for the destruction of the Spanish force, and it was this. Not far distant was a place called Utatlan, in a difficult country, and surrounded with defiles, whither they persuaded him to march, and it was determined, that when the Spaniards were arrived, they should be fallen on by surprise with the forces of both the districts. Alvarado marched for Utatlan, but on his arrival remarked the bad situation of the place. This town was of considerable strength, having only two gates, to one of which was an ascent of about five and twenty steps, and the other opened to a very bad and broken causeway. The streets were very narrow, and the houses joined; and in case of being attacked, the ground about the town was unfit for cavalry. The Spaniards observed also that the women and common people had disappeared; and some Indians of the place which they had left told them, that warriors were posted in ambuscade round the town, which it was intended that night to set fire to, and that was to be a signal for a general attack.

Alvarado therefore ordered his troops under arms, and marched out into the open country, telling the caciques that it was to give his horses grass. They did not seem pleased with this change, and as soon as Alvarado had his troops clear of the town he seized the cacique who governed it, and reproaching him for his treason, ordered that he should be burnt alive, but Olmedo obtained a respite and permission to use his endeavours to convert him to our holy faith; he accordingly preached an entire day, and at last succeeded, and as an in-

dulgence, instead of being burned he was hanged, and his territory given to his son. Alvarado now fell upon, and and dispersed such of the natives as remained about the town, and his success having become known in Guatimala, previous to his arrival on the frontiers of that nation which was in hostility with the people of Utatlan, they determined to treat; for that purpose they sent an embassy charged with a quantity of gold, and to declare their submission as vassals to his Majesty; they offered at the same time to serve in his wars. Alvarado accepted their submission and their offer of service, desiring them to send to him two thousand of their warriors, which requisition was immediately complied with. As the people had rebelled again, Alvarado continued in the country of Utatlan about eight days, collecting a considerable spoil and many slaves, and then setting forward on his march, he soon arrived at the city of Guatimala, where he was hospitably received.

During this time the greatest harmony prevailed between Alvarado and his troops, and the natives, the chiefs of whom informed him that in their neighbourhood was a nation called the Altitans, who possessed several strong fortresses on the side of a lake, and who refused to come in and make submission. They also represented them as a bad and malicious people. To these Alvarado sent an invitation, but they maltreated the persons who brought it, in consequence of which, he found it necessary to go with an armed force, and taking with him one hundred and forty Spanish soldiers, and two thousand Guatimalans, he marched against them, renewing his offer, which was returned by a discharge of arrows from their warriors, who marched out armed in coats of mail, and sounding warlike instruments. Alvarado put them to flight, and pursued them, with considerable loss, to their fortresses which were over the lake. He then drove them from thence, and making several prisoners, compelled them to take to the water, and cross over to an island. The principal persons whom he had taken, he set at liberty, and bid them go and

use their endeavours to persuade their countrymen to a peace. Between threats and promises Alvarado at length succeeded, after which he returned to Guatimala. Fra Bartholome exerted himself with effect in his holy office, for, erecting an altar and an image of our Lady, he explained the mysteries of our faith to the natives, who imitated our example in adoring the Holy Virgin.

A people who came from a distance towards the south, to make submission, and who were named the Pipiles, told our chief, that in their way was a nation called the Izcuintepeques, of a very malignant and obstinate disposition, who maltreated all such as went through their country. To them he sent an invitation to come in and make submission, which they neglecting, he marched against them with his whole force and a body of his allies of Guatimala, and coming on them by surprise he made great destruction among them. This was an unfortunate event, productive of mischief, and directly contrary to his Majesty's orders. I have now given the reader a summary account of the conquest and pacification of Guatimala and its dependencies, but it may be found at full length as written by Gonzalo de Alvarado. I was not present at it, nor did I go into that province until my return from Higueras. The Indians of this province are not good soldiers; only waiting the attack in broken ground.

Cortes had been informed that the provinces of Higueras and Honduras contained rich mines, and certain sailors also told him, they had met with the natives fishing, and that they used nets which had weights of gold mixed with copper; as also, that a straight, or passage, was probably somewhere about that coast. In compliance with his Majesty's orders, he therefore determined to send a body of troops thither under Christoval de Oli to search for this passage to the Spice Islands, and to make enquiry concerning the mines. As the way thither by land was very tedious and difficult, it was determined he should go by sea, and accordingly six ships were provided, and three hundred and seventy soldiers em-

barked, of whom one hundred were musqueteers and cross-bow-men, and twenty two, cavalry. Five also of the old conquerors of Mexico, the companions of Cortes and his Majesty's veteran servants, who had retired to their houses and repose, were commanded to take up arms again on this occasion; and it was of no use to tell Cortes that any one had served long enough, or suffered hardships, for when Cortes ordered no remonstrances availed. There was also one Briones, a seafaring man, of a seditious disposition, and a bitter enemy to Cortes, and many of the soldiers who embarked thought they had been ill used in the distribution of lands and property.

The instructions given to De Oli were, to sail to the Havannah, to receive provisions and necessaries, and pursue his voyage to Higueras, where he was to make enquiry whether any harbour, straight, or passage lay to the southward; also to search for mines of gold, and silver, and in some commodious situation to build a town, not neglecting the interests of the church, for the extension whereof, two reverend friars, one of whom spoke the Mexican language, were to attend the expedition.

De Oli embarked from Villa Rica, and arrived at the Havannah, where he took on board his provisions and horses and also five persons of those who had come out with Garay, and who had been expelled from the settlement of Panuco for seditious conduct. These persons attached themselves to De Oli, and began to instil their poisonous counsels in his mind, advising him to renounce his obedience to Cortes. Briones also laboured in this, and having concerted matters with Velasquez the mortal enemy of Cortes, it was settled amongst them, that De Oli should put himself under Velasquez, who would support him in his expedition, and also make such representations at court, that the new settlement should be taken out of the hands of Cortes, and the government thereof given to De Oli. This man was of great personal valour, a very good soldier, but unfit to be a

commander; he was at this time about thirty six years of age, and was a native of Baeza or Linares; he had a good person and countenance, a cleft in his under lip, and his voice was rough and fierce; he was endued with many good qualities, being sincere, and for a long time much attached to Cortes; until the ambition of governing, and dislike of being governed, perverted his mind, by the influence of bad advisers. He had been brought up in the house of Velasquez, but was under much greater obligations to Cortes.

De Oli set sail from the Havannah, and on the third of May arrived at his station, which he on that account named El Triumpho de la Cruz. Here he appointed his civil administration, making his alcaldes and regidors of those whom Cortes had recommended to him. He also took possession of the country for his Majesty in the name of Cortes. His motive for doing this was, because he wished to conceal from these persons his secession from his general, and wished to keep them his friends until he could ascertain how the business was likely to turn out; for, if the country was as rich as he had reason to suppose, he intended to throw Cortes off and set up an independent government; if on the other hand, it should appear not to be valuable, he could return to his possessions at Mexico, and gloss over to Cortes his negociations with Velasquez, by pretending it was done in order to put him in good humour, and induce him to give him the necessary supplies. Thus was the new colony of El Triumpho de la Cruz established, from whence no intelligence reached Cortes for upwards of eight months.

In the town of Guacacualco were a considerable number of veterans, and Spaniards of quality, who were entrusted with the government of the province of that name, together with those of Citla, Tabasco, Cimatan, Chontalpa, Cachula, Zoque, the Quilenes, Cinacatan, and Chamuela, Chiapa of the Indians, Papanausta, Pinula, Xaltepeque, Guazpaltepeque, Chinanta, and Tepeque. In the whole of New Spain, the demand of tribute was the signal for an insurrection, and

those who attempted the collection of it were killed, as indeed were all Spaniards who fell into the hands of the natives. In those provinces the resistance was universal, and we were under the necessity of going round from one city or town to another with a company of soldiers, to preserve the peace.

The district of Cimatan being particularly refractory, and Captain Luis Marin being unwilling at that time to send a body of troops thither, it was determined that four neighbours, whereof I was one, should be sent to try if we could bring the people to reason. Accordingly, setting out upon our journey, when we approached the principal town, we dispatched messengers to acquaint the people with our business. When we came nearer to it we were met by a large body of Indians, armed with lances, and bows and arrows, who killed two of my comrades, and wounded me desperately in the throat. My surviving companion after a few blows provided for himself by making off to some canoes by the bank of the river Macapa, so that I was left alone; I however retained sufficiently my senses, to creep into some bushes where recovering a little, I addressed myself to heaven, and implored the aid of our Holy Virgin, beseeching her not to let me die in the hands of those dogs of Indians. Then, feeling my powers return to me, I sallied out, and forcing my passage through the natives, giving many good cuts by the way, I made my escape to where my comrade was in the canoes, with four Indians whom we had brought with us to carry our baggage, which they had thrown away, and which the natives quitted us, to pillage. As it was the will of God that we should not lose our lives on this occasion, we then got across the river, which is very broad and deep, and full of alligators. To avoid the Indians we were obliged to remain eight days concealed in the woods, and from our not appearing, we were all concluded to be lost. As was the custom at that time, our property was forthwith divided amongst the other Spaniards, however at the end of twenty

three days we returned to our town, to the great joy of our friends, and disappointment of those who had gotten possession of our lands and Indians.

Captain Marin now thought proper to go to Cortes to represent the state of affairs, and demand more soldiers. He accordingly set out and waited on Cortes, who gave him thirty soldiers, commanded by Alonzo de Grado, with orders for the whole body of Spaniards to march for the province of Chiapa which was in a state of war. Accordingly we set out for the purpose of reducing it, and of building a town there, to keep the inhabitants in check.

The first thing necessary was to make a road through the woods, in a very marshy country where we were obliged to make causeways for the horses to pass. Proceeding thus, we arrived at a place called Tezpuztlan, and continued our route to another town named Cachula, from whence we proceeded, there being no passage previous to our expedition, from the fear the other natives have of those of Chiapa, who undoubtedly were at that time the bravest warriors in America; they also robbed passengers and travelling merchants, and brought off the inhabitants of these districts to colonize and till their ground, nor could the Mexicans ever subdue them. This our expedition took place in Lent, the year I cannot bring to my recollection, but think it was one thousand five hundred and twenty four. When we came near the city of Chiapa, we made a review of our force, which consisted of twenty seven horsemen, twenty three musqueteers, and a field piece under the direction of a gunner who told us that he had served in Italy; however that was, he was of no use, being a very cowardly fellow. We had seventy foot soldiers armed with sword and target, and about eighty Mexicans. The cacique of Cachula with some of his principal people attended us, trembling with fear; four soldiers of the most active of our little army, of whom I was one, were always sent forward to reconnoitre; the ground not being fit for a horse I left mine behind, and we were usually in front of

the army about half a league. The people of Chiapa being much accustomed to hunting, some of them who were thus employed perceiving us at a distance gave the alarm, and made signals by smoke.

As we approached their first settlement, which is called Estapa, and is distant four leagues from the principal town, we found the roads, which ran through cultivated grounds, wide and convenient; and on each side were plentiful crops of corn, and vegetables. We entered this town, but the inhabitants had quitted it, and having posted our guards and sent out patroles, the remainder went to rest; but we were soon roused by the arrival of two of our out party, who came in at full speed to tell us, that the natives were collecting from all parts to attack us. We stood to our arms, and advanced to meet them out of the town, where a very severe action ensued, for they were provided with darts hardened in fire, war clubs, and lances larger than ours, and also a good defensive armour made of cotton. As the field of battle was very stoney, their slingers did us infinite mischief. They approached us so close that in the first attack they killed two of our soldiers, and four horses, wounded our reverend father, Fra Juan, and thirteen soldiers, and destroyed many of our allies. Our captain, Marin, also was wounded in two places. This action lasted till dark night, when, having made an unsatisfactory experiment of the sharpness of our swords and the effect of our musquetry, the enemy retired, leaving behind them fifteen killed, and many wounded, from two of whom, apparently principal people, we learned, that on the next day a general attack was intended upon us.

The manner in which the enemy had fought convinced us that they were no despicable warriors: for when a cavalry man halted to make a thrust the Indian seized the horse, and wrested the lance out of the horseman's hand, or pulled him to the ground.

On the next day we pursued our route to the city of Chiapa, and a city it might truly be called, from the regu-

larity of its streets and houses. It contained not less than four thousand families, not reckoning the population of the many dependent towns in its neighbourhood. At the distance of about a quarter of a league from the place which we had left, we found the whole force of Chiapa drawn up to receive us. Their troops were adorned with plumage, and well armed, offensively and defensively, and the hills resounded with their shouts on our appearance. It was dreadful to behold the fury with which they threw themselves upon us like enraged lions; as for our black artillery man, and black he was indeed to us, he was so stupified with fear, that he stood trembling and unable to put the match to the gun, and when at last we succeeded in rousing him, he fired the piece with no other effect than that of wounding three of our own men. Our captain gave orders to the cavalry to form in small bodies, and the musqueteers, crossbow-men, and sword and buckler men, to close into one compact battalion, whereby the cavalry and infantry supported each other. The enemy were so numerous that had we not been the men we were, it would have gone very hard with us, and we ourselves were astonished at the bravery of our adversaries; but good father Bartholome stood firmly by us, and administered comfort to us by his exhortations, promising that we should be rewarded for our exertions, both by God and by Cæsar. Our Captain Marin likewise frequently encouraged us, calling out to charge them in the name of St. Jago. We at length forced them to fly before us; but as there were hard by, tracts of very rocky ground where the cavalry could not follow them, fresh bodies of Indians fell upon us by surprise, while we, thinking the day our own, were returning thanks to God and our Lady. Of these troops a number were prepared with long thongs to twist round the horses, and throw them down, and they had also stretched out the nets which they used in hunting, for the same purpose. The enemy attacked us here so desperately that hardly one of our soldiers escaped without a wound; they wrested the

lances from some of our cavalry, and killed two soldiers and five horses. In the centre of their army was a woman, aged, and immoderately fat, who was esteemed by them a goddess, and had promised them the victory. They had also incense in a pan, and certain idols made of stone. This woman, who had her body painted, and cotton mixed with the paint, advanced without any fear among our allies, who were formed by companies, and by whom this infernal deity was in a very short time torn to pieces.

During this time the battle raged, and we and our captain recommending ourselves to our Lady, and beseeching the reverend father to pray for us, threw ourselves into the thickest of it, and forced the enemy to fly, some to the rocks, others to the river, whereby they effected their escape, being excellent swimmers. We then halted to take breath, and our good friar, joined by the soldiers, sang the hymn which begins "Salve &c," and we returned thanks to God for the victory. Our army then advanced towards a town by the side of a river, where we remained the entire day and night, paying particular attention to the concealment of our dead.

About midnight, ten chieftains of the neighbouring districts came down the river which is very broad and deep in five canoes; they disembarked at one of our posts, and were made prisoners. Being brought before our captain, they told him they belonged to a nation called the Xaltepeques, against whom the people of Chiapa had made war; their object was, to offer their support, and to obtain from us a promise, that in case of success against the Chiapans, we should set free from them the nations to which these Indians belonged; in the hopes of which, they promised us assistance to pass the river, which could not otherwise be done. This was very satisfactory to us, and therefore leaving two of their party behind, the rest went immediately to provide twenty canoes. The remainder of the night was passed under a strict watch, for the drums and horns of the enemy were heard, from the banks of the river, where they were collecting to attack us.

As soon as it was light we saw our friends arrive with the canoes; they also shewed us a ford, though a very dangerous one, and were urgent to us to lose no time in passing, to save the lives of some of their countrymen who had been made prisoners. Accordingly we passed the river, formed into a solid column, at the ford, which took us up to our armpits, and where we lost one of our cavalry. On the opposite bank we were assailed by the enemy with such a discharge of darts and arrows, that not one of our party escaped without two or three wounds before we could get out of the water, but vast bodies of other Indians appearing in our rear, and declaring for us, by attacking the Chiapans, they were soon forced to turn their backs and fly towards their city, whither we advanced in good order, with colours flying, and accompanied by our allies. On our arrival there, we found it too close built to be safely occupied by us, and we therefore pitched our camp in the open field. Our captain now sent messengers inviting them to peace, and shortly after, they sent a deputation of their chiefs, praying forgiveness, and requesting to be admitted subjects to his Majesty. They also desired that the neighbouring nations might not be permitted to destroy their houses and plantations, which request was readily granted. When we went into this town we found many prisoners confined in wooden cages, who had been seized by them when travelling. All these were released and sent to their homes. In their temples we found idols of horrid figure, which Fra Juan broke to pieces, and also many remains of men and boys just sacrificed, and other traces of their most abominable customs.

Our captain then sent orders to all the neighbouring nations to come in; amongst the first who obeyed were these of Chinacatan, Gopanaustla, Pinola, Gueguiztlan, Chamula, the Quilenes, and others of the Zoque language, with many more which I do not recollect. These people were much surprised when they perceived with how small a body we had ventured to attack the warlike nation of the Chiapans,

whom the Mexicans never could conquer. Fra Juan preached to them with great success, and many came to him to be baptised.

While this was passing, a certain Spanish soldier, attended by eight Mexicans, went to a town called Chamula, and there demanded without any authority a contribution of gold in the name of his captain. A portion was collected for him, but not satisfied therewith he attempted to seize the cacique, which caused an insurrection in that and a neighbouring town named Guehuistlan. As soon as our captain got intelligence of it, he caused him to be seized, and immediately sent him off by express, prisoner, to Mexico. This man was one who considered himself of consequence amongst us, very evil disposed, and cruel to the Indians.

We then proceeded to Chamula, which in consequence of the above related outrage continued in rebellion. We were assisted on our march by the people of Cinacatan, a polished and mercantile nation, and arriving at Chamula, we found this place strongly fortified by nature, and the inhabitants well armed, having a large kind of shield with which they could cover the whole body, and which when not wanted was rolled up. When we approached we were attacked with showers of arrows, upon which our captain ordered the cavalry to go into the plain, there to watch the insurgents of the neighbouring districts of Quiabuitlan. Our musqueteers then fired upon the enemy, but with very little effect, whereas their missile weapons injured us who were uncovered, materially. We were during this whole day fighting thus, to very little purpose, and when we attempted to force the ramparts, we found them guarded by above two thousand men armed with lances. Finding our endeavours ineffectual, it was determined to procure timber from another town which was depopulated, and to construct of it the machines named burros or mantas, under cover of which twenty men or more could approach, and remain under the walls, so as to work an entrance. We therefore drew off for that time, and

having procured the timber and constructed these machines, we again proceeded to the attack. Under cover of them our men endeavoured to undermine the wall, the enemy throwing down upon us scalding water mixed with blood, fire, and heavy stones, insomuch that we were quite in despair, and forced to retreat to repair the machines, which having done, we again brought them to the walls, and working under them we made different breaches. As soon as the enemy perceived this, they sent up to the top of their ramparts four of their principal persons, priests, and others, who addressed us covered with their thick shields, and told us, that since we wanted gold we might have it; and therewith threw over seven crowns of fine gold, together with a quantity of gold trinkets, and other things made of that metal, cast in the forms of shells and birds; and they also at the same time sent among us fresh showers of arrows, darts, and stones. We had succeeded in making two considerable breaches in the walls, but it was now dark, and a heavy rain began to fall; we were therefore obliged to desist for that night, keeping good watch all round our post, and the cavalry remaining on the plain ground, saddled and bridled. The enemy during the whole night were sounding their warlike instruments, such as timbals, and small trumpets, yelling, and threatening us with destruction on the next day, which they said had been promised to them by their gods.

At day break we again brought forward our machines, to work at their walls, which the enemy defended with the greatest obstinacy, wounding five of our people, and amongst them myself by a thrust, and were it not for the strength of my cotton quilted armour, the lance would have gone through me. Thus we were employed during the whole day, and the evening was drawing on, with a heavy fall of rain and a very thick mist, as is frequently the case in that mountainous country. In consequence of this our captain called us off from the engagement, and about the same time the enemy ceasing to shout and make the noises they had hither-

to done, I, who was accustomed to business of the kind, and also perceived that their lances were rested against the walls, barbicans, and battlements, except about two hundred that still appeared to be in hand, began to suspect they were going to abandon the place; in consequence whereof, I and one of my comrades getting in at a small breach in the wall, to see what they were doing, fell suddenly in upon upwards of two hundred of them in arms, who attacked us with their lances, and would speedily have put an end to us, but that some of our Indian allies who perceived our situation, called out to the rest of our soldiers, who crouded in to where we were surrounded by these Indians, who only composed the rear guard of the garrison, for all the rest, men, women, and children, had evacuated the place by the other gate.

These who remained we quickly put to flight, and pursuing them, we came up with many of the others, and made prisoners several men, women, and children. We now quitted the town, and pursued our route towards Chinacatan, halting for that night at a place where at present the city of Chiapa de los Espanoles is built. Being arrived here, our captain discharged six of his prisoners, with orders to inform their countrymen that if they submitted, he would deliver up to them the whole of those he had taken, which message was delivered, and chearfully complied with.

In consequence of the orders which Cortes had given to our captain, who was also my particular friend, to give me some good situation, I was appointed to the command of this encomienda which I held for eight years. The first thing I did was, to get a reverend father to preach to the Indians, and convert them to the christian faith; we accordingly erected an altar and crucifix, and he preached to them to good effect. The first day we baptised fifteen, to my great satisfaction, for I loved and wished well to them, they being now my own. There was in this neighbourhood a people who inhabited three fortified towns, and were in rebellion against us, named the Gueguestitlans, and it became necessary

to march against and reduce them. Leaving therefore our wounded and baggage behind, the most stout and active among us proceeded against them; they had barricaded all their approaches with fallen trees, which we cleared by the assistance of our Indian allies, and arrived under their fortresses, which appeared likely to give us enough to do, for the first we came to was full of warriors who were well appointed, offensively and defensively. When we mounted to the assault they all fled and left the place to us, but our allies made two of them prisoners, who were immediately released, and sent with offers of peace and good treatment to their friends, on submission. These conditions they accepted and came in, bringing with them some trifling presents of gold, and feathers of the quetzal.

Having thus effected our business here, we proceeded according to the directions of Cortes, to establish a colony. Hereupon there was a difference of opinion amongst us, for some were for it, but others who had plantations and Indians in Guacacualco were adverse, objecting to it as an unfit situation for cavalry, and saying also that our force in its present reduced state was insufficient, the district being populous, and the towns built in the fastnesses of the mountains. Thus our party fell into disputes upon this and other subjects, for our captain, Marin, and Diego de Godoy who was a royal notary and a very busy person, were adverse to the plan. That troublesome fellow Alonzo de Grado, also it appeared, was possessed of a patent from Cortes, giving him an encomienda in the province of Chiapa, when it was reduced to obedience. By virtue of this he demanded from Marin the gold which had been obtained from the Indians of Chiapa, and also that which had been found in the temples, amounting to one thousand five hundred crowns. This Marin refused, alledging that it was necessary to employ it in replacing the horses which had been killed in the expedition. All these differences together brought matters to such an extremity, that our captain put both of them in irons, determining to send De

Grado to Mexico; as to Godoy, by dint of intercession and promises he obtained his release. Godoy made but a very bad return to Marin for his lenity, for he immediately entered into a cabal with De Grado, and it was agreed between them to make a formal complaint to Cortes against him. I was applied to also to write to him in exculpation of De Grado, because they said that Cortes would believe my representations. I did write indeed, but it was to let Cortes know the true state of the case, and by no means charging Marin with any impropriety. De Grado was sent to Mexico under an oath to present himself to Cortes within eighty days; that time being allowed on account of the distance, which is upwards of one hundred and ninety leagues.

It was now determined by us, to chastise those people who killed the two soldiers of that party wherewith I was sent, as formerly mentioned. In our way we marched through a district so very rugged, that the passage was impossible to our horses without assistance, which, on an application to the caciques was readily afforded us. These people are named Tapelola. Continuing our route by the Silo, Suchiapa, and Coyumelapa districts we came to those of the Tecomayatacal and Ateapan Indians. The houses in the chief town, which belonged to my district, joined each other, and formed a very populous and extensive place. Near this was a large and deep river, which it was necessary to pass, and here we were opposed by the people of the town and vicinity, but after a sharp action, wherein we had six soldiers wounded and three horses killed, we put them to flight, they all taking to the mountains and woods, having first set fire to their town. We stayed here five days taking care of the wounded, and having made many of the women of this place prisoners, our captain sent to invite the people to peace, which was accepted, and they returned to their homes. Godoy was averse from this lenity, and told our captain that these people who had revolted without any reason should be punished, or at any rate made to pay for the horses which were killed in the

action. I was of a different opinion, and thought that since they came peaceably they should not be made to suffer; and giving my opinion freely, Godoy became enraged and broke out into angry words, from which we came to blows, and drew our swords. A good many cuts passed between us before we could be parted, and if we had not been so, one or other of us would have lost his life. Marin, who was a good and mild man, saw the impropriety of using harsh measures with these people, and restoring all their property to them, left them in peace.

We continued our march, and passing by other districts of Cimatlan, and Talatiopan, we were assailed by a number of their archers, who gave us a volley whereby above twenty of our soldiers were wounded, and two horses killed; and but that we immediately attacked and drove them from their post, they would have done us much mischief. I must observe, that these are the strongest archers that ever I met with, for they drive their arrows through two suits of cotton mail well quilted; which is a wonderful force. Their country is in great part marsh, which shakes when a foot-man walks upon it. It was therefore in vain to pursue the natives, and as for our offers of peace they treated them with neglect. We therefore thought it best to make our shortest way to our town of Guacacualco. We took our route for it by the district of Guimango, Nacaxa, Xuica, Teotitlan, Copilco, and others which I do not recollect, to Ulapa, and across the rivers Agaqualulco, and Tonala, to Guacacualco, where the killed horses were paid for at a penny a pound.

As to De Grado, when he arrived at Mexico and waited on Cortes, the general was highly displeased with him, telling him to take three thousand crowns and go to the Island of Cuba, and give him and others no farther trouble. De Grado however made such apologies that they were afterwards good friends.

Chapter v.

Transactions in Old Spain.

In the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, our most Holy Father Pope Adrian of Lobayana succeeded to the sovereign pontificate. He was then governor of Castille, and resided in the city of Vittoria, where our agents waited upon him to kiss the foot of his holiness. At the same time arrived a great nobleman from Germany, called Mosiur de Lasoa, chamberlain to his Majesty, by whom he was sent to congratulate his holiness on his election. This M. de Lasoa, having heard the heroical actions of the conquerors of Mexico, and the great works they had done for the extension of our holy faith, by the conversion and baptism of so many thousands of Indians, was interested in our behalf, and applied to the Holy Pontiff, requesting him to accelerate the business wherein our agents were employed. This request was readily granted, for independent of what was laid before him by our agents, our holy father had received many complaints against the Bishop of Burgos from persons of high honour and quality, whereby our agents were encouraged to proceed in a formal accusation against him. Those who were most active in the business were Francisco de Montejo, Diego de Ordas, the licentiate Francisco Nunez cousin to Cortes, and Martin Cortes our general's father, who were assisted by many great and powerful noblemen, but principally by the Duke of Bejar; and thus countenanced, they brought forward their charges with great effect.

The first was, that Velasquez had bribed him with a district, with the people of which he worked gold mines. Secondly, that in the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen, when one hundred and ten of us procured vessels

at our own expence and set out for the discovery of New Spain, the Bishop of Burgos informed his Majesty that it was Diego de Velasquez who had done so, contrary to the truth.

Thirdly that Velasquez had sent twenty thousand crowns in gold, which his nephew Juan de Grijalva had obtained, to the bishop, and no part to his Majesty; and that when Cortes sent a present of gold the bishop seized it, suppressing our letters, and substituting others, ascribing the said present to Velasquez. Also that the bishop retained one half of the treasure, and when Puertocarrero applied to him for permission to wait upon his Majesty, he caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, where he died. Also, that he sent orders to the officers of the Casa de Contractacion of Seville, that they should not give any assistance to Cortes. Farther, that he appointed as officers to the military service in New Spain, such as were not fit for it, as was the case in regard to one Tapia, to whom, in order to bring about a marriage between his niece and the said Tapia, he promised the government of New Spain. Also, that he approved for good, the false relations transmitted by the agents of Velasquez, which he forwarded to his Majesty, suppressing those of Cortes which were the true ones. There were besides many other charges, all very well substantiated, and which he could not deny.

These things being all brought to light, his holiness was pleased to order, that the Bishop of Burgos should have no farther authority in New Spain, that Cortes should be declared governor thereof, and that Velasquez should receive compensation for the expences he had been at, and could duly prove. His holiness sent also to New Spain a number of indulgences for the hospitals and churches, and was pleased to direct Cortes and us the conquerors to pay unremitting attention to the conversion of the Indians, adding how much it was the duty of himself and all Christendom to pray for those who had done so much for the advancement of our holy faith. He also was pleased to send to us his holy

bulls of absolution. All this his Majesty graciously thought proper to confirm, so far as relates to the civil and military establishment, adding thereto his order to Velasquez to give up his government of Cuba, on account of his having sent out the armament under Narvaez in defiance of the peremptory orders of the royal chamber of audience, and of the brethren of the order of St. Jerome. The Bishop of Burgos was so affected by the censure which his holiness the Pope passed upon his conduct, and by his Majesty's orders in consequence thereof, that when he retired to his country seat at Toro he fell dangerously ill.

At this period arrived in Old Castille, Pamphilo de Narvaez, and Christoval de Tapia, whom the Bishop of Burgos had created governor of New Spain, together with the pilots Umbria and Cardenas. These persons waited on the bishop to demand his permission to lay their accusations against Cortes before his Majesty, and as the bishop desired nothing better than to hear complaints of Cortes and of us, he shewed them every favour in his power. When the agents of Velasquez perceived this, they gladly joined the party, and all together went to prefer their charges before the Emperor.

They made strong accusations against Cortes; first, that Velasquez fitted out armaments three times to his own great cost, and entrusted the command of the last to Cortes, who broke his engagement. Farther, that when Velasquez sent Narvaez with his Majesty's commission as governor general of New Spain, Cortes made war upon, and defeated him. Also, that when the Bishop of Burgos sent Tapia to take the government of those countries in his Majesty's name, he refused to obey, and by main force compelled him to reimbark. They also accused Cortes of having obtained a quantity of gold in the name of his Majesty, and converting it to his own use; of having taken to himself a fifth of all prizage; of having burnt the feet of Guatimotzin; of retaining the soldiers shares; and building palaces and fortified houses that were as large as whole villages, making the

inhabitants round Mexico work at them, and forcing them to draw large cypress trees, and stones, from a great distance; and that he had given poison to Francisco de Garay, to get from him his troops and shipping. There were many other accusations brought forward, so that his Majesty was at last tired of hearing them, believing them to be true.

Narvaez, when admitted into the Emperor's presence addressed him in his pompous tone of voice, as follows. "Your Majesty must further know, that on the night I was taken prisoner, having your royal commission in my pocket, my eye put out, and in apprehension of being burnt alive, for the apartment was in flames, one of Cortes's captains, Alonzo de Avila at present prisoner in France, violently tore your commission out of my pocket, and when I claimed it, declaring what it was, he denied the fact, and said that they were bonds for money owing me by Spaniards in Mexico, and which I was coming to enforce." At this the Emperor could not refrain from laughing. In regard to the charges, his Majesty said, he would give orders that strict justice should be done; and he forthwith commanded, that certain persons of his royal privy council should be formed into a court of enquiry to hear and decide upon these allegations. The persons who composed this court were Mercurio Catarinario grand chancellor of Italy, De la Soa, and Doctor De la Roche, Flemings, Hernando de Vega lord of Grajales, the Doctor De Garavajal, and the Licentiate Vargas.

This court gave notice to the parties to come forward, and accordingly they produced their charges in the same form that they had been laid before his Majesty. To the charges brought by Velasquez it was replied, that De Cordova was the discoverer of New Spain, who did it with his companions at their own cost, and that Velasquez was here also criminal, in that he ordered him to go to the Island of Los Guanajes, to take Indians by force, and make slaves of them. Farther, that admitting he sent Juan de Grijalva thither, it was not for the purpose of colonization but only for trade. That for

the expences incurred, the principal part was born by the different captains, and not by Velasquez, and these captains had there collected twenty thousand crowns, the principal part of which went to Velasquez. Farther, that Velasquez gave the Bishop of Burgos Indians in the Island of Cuba to procure gold, neglecting his duty to his Majesty. Also, that admitting it was he who sent Cortes, it was by the approbation of his Majesty, and by the providence of God; for that any other commander would have failed in an undertaking of such danger, and that Cortes was not sent by him to colonize, but to barter; and that his establishment in the country was owing, not to the instructions of Velasquez, but the instances of his companions, for the service of God, and his Majesty. Also that it was well known, that Cortes reported the whole of his proceedings to his Majesty, sending therewith all the gold he had been able to procure, he, and his companions, awaiting his Majesty's further orders, prostrate on the earth. It was also represented, how the Bishop of Burgos suppressed the said letters, and seized the presents, concealing from his Majesty our meritorious service; and when our agents wanted to obtain permission to wait on his Majesty, he threw one of them, Puertocarrero, into prison, where he died; and that he forbid the officers of his Majesty at Seville, to furnish us with what we required. All which was done by the said bishop, from a corrupt motive, as he wanted to procure a marriage between either Velasquez or Tapia, and his niece named Donna Petronila de Fonseca, as he had promised that his son-in-law should be governor of Mexico. In support of all which accusations they were ready to produce proofs. As to the expedition of Narvaez, our agents replied, that in the first place Velasquez deserved to suffer death for disobedience of his Majesty's orders; and also, that he applied himself solely to the bishop, neglecting his Majesty, which was a high disrespect; in consequence therefore of the above misdemeanors and crimes, our agents, prayed that the court would be pleased to award punishment;

to which the court replied that they would take it into consideration.

In reply to the charges brought against Cortes by Narvaez it was represented, that on his coming to New Spain he sent word to the great King Montezuma, that he came to rescue him, and thereby caused such a disturbance in the country, as produced a dangerous war. That on his arrival at Vera Cruz, Cortes had written to him a friendly letter, desiring to see his commission, to which Narvaez would make no answer, but declared war against Cortes and his companions, notwithstanding that Cortes invited him to, and represented the necessity of, an amicable junction, for the good of his Majesty's service, lest all should be lost. But Cortes finding that all his offers were neglected, and Narvaez not shewing him his Majesty's commission, and knowing the misconduct of Narvaez in seizing his Majesty's oydor, to bring him to punishment for so doing, went to him, determined to see his authority, and to know the reason of his conduct, and that Narvaez had then attempted to surprise and seize him, of which he could adduce proofs and witnesses, amongst others Andrez de Duero, who was at that time with Narvaez. In regard to his causing the failure of Garay, and poisoning him at breakfast, it was replied that the failure of the expedition was owing to Garay's own misconduct, and ignorance of the country. That when Garay found his situation hopeless, he accepted the friendly offer which Cortes had made him, of an hospitable reception at Mexico, where an alliance was agreed upon between the families, and Garay was to have had assistance to establish a colony on the river Palmas; and that if it was God's will to take him from this life, according to the oaths of the physicians, by a pleurisy, it was not in the power of Cortes to prevent it. Cortes also proved in answer to the charge of having retained his Majesty's fifth, that he had fairly expended it in the service, together with six thousand crowns of his own property: that the fifth which he deducted for himself was according to compact, and in regard

to the charge of detaining the soldiers prize money it was replied, that in the capture of Mexico very little gold remained to be divided, inasmuch as the wealth of the place was almost all fallen into the hands of the Tlascalan and Tezcucan allies. In regard to burning the feet of Guatimotzin, it was done contrary to the inclination of Cortes, by his Majesty's officers, to force him to discover where Montezuma's treasure was concealed. In answer to the charge of his buildings it was stated, that they were truly sumptuous, and that the cypresses and stones were brought from a great distance, but that the said buildings were for the use and honor of his Majesty and his successors: that the materials were brought the principal part of the way by water, and that the work was carried on by the general labour of the Indians, under the order of Guatimotzin, as is always the case in building the houses of the great in that country. As to the complaint of Alonzo de Avila forcibly taking the commission from Narvaez, it appeared upon inspection that there was no commission whatever in those papers, the whole of which were receipts for the purchase of horses, and other things similar; but that Cortes never saw them, nor was it done by his order. In regard to the complaints of the pilots against Cortes, the feet of Umbria were cut off by the hand of justice, as a punishment for running away with his ship, and Cardenas had refused to take his share in the division of the gold, consenting that the whole should be sent to his Majesty, but that Cortes had given him out of his own purse three hundred crowns, which was as much as he deserved, being a person of little consideration, and no soldier. In regard to the charge relative to Tapia, it was alledged that had he come to Mexico and produced his Majesty's orders, they should have been received by Cortes, prostrate on the ground, with all respect, and humility; but his incapacity was so notorious, that it was the universal desire, and advice, of the Spaniards then in New Spain, that Cortes should remain in the command. These charges and exculpa-

tions having been duly weighed by the court for five days, it was determined to lay the whole of the proceedings before his Majesty, together with their decision, which was accordingly done. The sentence which they gave was entirely in favour of Cortes: the merit and valour of him and the old conquerors of Mexico were highly praised, and silence was imposed on Velasquez as to his complaints, he being told that if he looked for a remuneration of his expences he must seek it from Cortes by course of law. Cortes was also declared governor general of New Spain, according to the orders of his holiness the Pope. The court also approved of the arrangements made by him in that country, and authorized him to make the divisions of the districts in such a manner as he thought fit. Narvaez was referred for redress to France, where Avila who had seized his papers was at present prisoner; the pilots Umbria and Cardenas obtained royal cedules, granting to them property in New Spain to the amount of one thousand crowns in rent; and it was ordained, that Cortes's veterans should all have immediate and ample gratifications, in lands and Indians, and should enjoy pre-eminence and precedency, such as their valour deserved. The sentence thus given was taken to Valladolid to be confirmed by his Majesty, who was then on his way to Flanders, and who did confirm and ratify it accordingly. His Majesty also gave orders relative to the banishment of lapsed converts in that country, and forbid the admission of scholars for a term of years. His Majesty and the King of Hungary were also pleased to write to Cortes and to us, thanking us for the services we had rendered. The affair being thus decided in our favour, the documents were intrusted to Rodorigo de Paz, cousin to Cortes, and to another relation of his, named Francisco de las Casas, who arrived at St. Jago in Cuba, the residence of Velasquez the governor, where the sentence being made known to him, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet, he fell ill from vexation, and shortly after died very poor and miserable. Montejo was given by his Majesty

the government of Yucatan and Cozumel, with the lordship and title of Don. To Diego de Ordaz he confirmed his possessions in New Spain, and ennobled him giving him for a coat of arms the Volcano of Guaxocingo, and with these honours and emoluments they returned to Mexico, from whence in two or three years De Ordas went back to Castille, to obtain from his Majesty permission to conquer the province of Maranion, in which undertaking he lost his life and all his property. The Bishop of Burgos was reduced to despair when he learned the manner in which the affair had gone, and that all his transactions with Velasquez had come to light.

When Las Casas and Rodrigo de Paz brought the intelligence to Mexico, that Cortes was appointed governor of that country, there was universal rejoicing. The messengers were liberally rewarded, Las Casas being made captain and presented with a good district called Anquitlan, and De Paz obtained other valuable possessions, and was appointed by Cortes his major domo and secretary. To all those who came from his country of Medellin, Cortes gave Indians, and to the captain of the vessel a liberal reward in gold.

Some readers may be curious to learn how these matters came to my knowledge; to which I reply, that the conquerors received information of the proceedings of our agents or procuradors, in four or five letters written by them from Castille; but I used then to say often, that it appeared to me that they procured only for Cortes and themselves, and during all that time, we who had made Cortes what he was, remained encountering one danger and hardship after another. May God grant us his protection, and instil into the mind of our great Cæsar the determination to cause his true and just intentions to be carried into effect.

Chapter vi.

Transactions and occurrences in Old and New Spain. Expedition against the Zapotecans.

It appeared to us, the most ancient, wise, and experienced conquerors of Mexico, that Cortes ought now to consider duly who were his friends, and stood by him through the whole of his difficulties and dangers, from the first, and to settle his accounts with Pedro, with Sancho, and with Martin, according to their deserts; which was to be done by recalling to him those who were low, and poor, and unfortunate, and by placing them in good situations, according to their deserts, and his Majesty's orders. All this Cortes was bound in duty to do, as also to procure for us and our children all the good offices, and emoluments, that were to be had in this country of New Spain. But, "that which does not grow from the skin, hangs loosely to it;" and so it appeared, for instead of doing this he procured such for no one but himself, as in the first place the government, and afterwards when he went to Castille, and got his title. But to advert to other matters. In regard to the division of the country, it was decided by many of the most experienced, brave, and sage conquerors thereof, that the proper method would be, to divide it into five parts, one whereof should go to his Majesty, another to be for the establishment and revenues of our holy church, and the other three to be given to Cortes, and the rest of us, the true original conquerors of the country; that each should have a share in perpetuity, and in proportion to his rank and deserts, and that we, for our parts, who had served his Majesty here, without putting him to the least cost, and as one may say without his knowledge, he being in Flanders, would be well satisfied therewith, and contented, and at our

ease, not wandering about the world as is at present the case, and falling from bad to worse; for many of us at this moment are without a morsel of bread to eat, and God knows what will become of our children.

I will now relate what Cortes did, and which I call a very unfair distribution. To the Veedor Chirinos, the Factor Salazar, J. de Ribera and all those who came from Medellin, and to the dependents of great men who flattered and told him pleasing things, he refused nothing. Not that I blame him for being generous, for there was enough for all; but I say that he ought to have first considered those who served his Majesty, and whose valour and blood made him what he was. But enough of this, and now to other matters, for it is useless detailing our misfortunes, and how he treated us like vassals, and how we were obliged to take to our old trade of expeditions and battles; for though he forgot us in his distribution of property, he never failed to call on us when he wanted our assistance. However before I take leave of the subject let me mention, that when Luis Ponce de Leon came to supercede Cortes, we went to the general, to request that he would give us some part of that property which his Majesty had at that time ordered that he should resign. He then told us, and swore it, that if he returned to his government he would provide for us all, and not do as he had done, for which he was very sorry. As if we were to be satisfied with promises and smooth words.

There had lately arrived certain officers of his Majesty from Old Castille, amongst whom were Alonzo de Estrada the treasurer, Gonzalo de Salazar the factor, Rodrigo Albornos the contador, (Juan de Alderete being dead,) Pedro Almindes Chirinos the Veedor, and many others.

One Rodrigo Rangel whom I have already mentioned, now came to Cortes, telling him that he had hitherto acquired no fame in the wars, and wished to have a command given him, wherewith to go and conquer the Zapotecans who were in rebellion, and to take with him Pedro de Ircio as his

private counsellor and director. Cortes knew very well this man was not fit for any service, being a poor diseased miserable object, from the effects of his sins; he therefore put him off, telling him that nation was not easily to be conquered on account of the high rugged mountains which they inhabit, and which are always covered with mists and clouds; as also that cavalry could not be brought against them, on account of the bad and narrow roads which it was necessary to climb like ladders, each soldier's head at the heels of his file leader. However at last Cortes agreed to the proposal of this man who was a fellow of a very slanderous tongue, and one whom he would have been glad to have got rid of in this way where he was likely to lose his life. The general in consequence wrote to ten or twelve of us who were in Guacacualco, desiring that we should go with him, and I was one of the number thus selected. These Indians are a light and very active people, and when in the field have a way of whistling and shouting, which makes the hills and woods resound again. Having this man with us it was impossible to effect any thing, and as we advanced under a very heavy rain, we came to a village of scattered houses, some being upon a ridge, and others in the valley. Poor Rangel whined and complained all the way of the pain of his limbs, to our great annoyance, knowing it was entirely useless trouble and danger, and that the Indians who were so nimble would destroy us climbing the rocks in one file, if they made a stand any where. It was at last agreed, as Rangel grew worse and worse, to abandon the black expedition as we used to call it, and return to our homes. His counsellor also as he called him, Pedro de Ircio, was the first to advise him to it, and setting the example by following his own advice, went home to his town of Villa Rica. Rangel however preferred accompanying us to Guacacualco, which was more grief to us than going with him in his expedition. He had hopes that the hot climate of that country, as he said, would relieve him of his pains.

No sooner had we arrived at this place then he took in his head to go upon an expedition against the Indians of Cimaton and Tatupatan, who were rebellious, for they thought themselves secure amongst their great rivers and trembling marshes. They were also formidable warriors, using very large and strong bows. Rangel however produced his commission from Cortes, and we dare not but to obey and march with him, to the number of one hundred horse and foot. We accordingly set out, and arrived at a pass between the marshes and lakes, where the whole force of the Indians was drawn up to receive us, having made circular barricades of very gross timber, with spike holes to shoot through, and pallisadoes. Here they gave us a hearty welcome with a flight of arrows and darts, killing seven horses and wounding Rangel and eight soldiers. We had often told him what stout warriors these Indians were, and as he was a prating fellow he now exclaimed, by heaven, if he had believed us, he would not have been in that jeopardy now, and that in future we the old conquerors of the country should be his captains and not he ours. As soon as our wounded men and horses were dressed, he begged I would go forward to reconoitre. I took with me a very fierce greyhound which belonged to him, and selecting two other soldiers for my comrades, desired the infantry to follow us close, and for Rangel and the cavalry, that they should keep a good distance in the rear. Pursuing our route towards Cimaton, we fell in with another post fortified like the preceding one, and defended as strongly, from whence we received a volley, which killed the dog, and wounded me and each of my comrades. I received an arrow in my leg, and seven more remained in my cotton armour. I called immediately to some of our Indian allies who were a little in rear of us, to go and bring up all the infantry, but to order the cavalry not to advance, as all their horses would surely be killed. When the infantry came up we attacked the barricades, and forced the Indians from them, driving them to their marshes where it was

impossible to follow them a step, without danger of sinking and being smothered. We then advanced, and halted at a village. On the next day we proceeded, and were encountered by a large body of Indians, posted in a marsh. This was an instance of the address of the natives, in chusing to meet us in the plain, hoping that they could draw our cavalry to charge them, in expectation that galloping full speed they should run into the marsh, and so it happened; for in spite of all we could say to Rangel of their art and stratagem, and how necessary it was to be wary, he ran his cavalry full at them, and tumbled in himself the first, head foremost into the marsh, where the Indians began to close upon him, in order to seize him alive for sacrifice.

By great exertions, we got him, badly wounded, out of their hands, half drowned, and his poor sore head exposed and broken. As this country is very populous, we found a village hard by, whither we went to take repose and dress the wounded. It was abandoned on our approach, but we had hardly been there a quarter of an hour when we were attacked with such violence, that in the first onset they killed one of our soldiers and two horses, and we had much to do to drive them off. All this time Rangel was complaining of his wounds and bruises, and the musquitos got about him in clouds. The vermin also with which that country is infested, bit him to such a degree that his life was insupportable, for he could get no rest day or night, and the rain fell incessantly. He, and some of Garay's soldiers whom he had brought with him, seeing that nothing had been got but three very hard fought battles, and that eleven horses and two soldiers had been killed and many more wounded, began to grow very sick of the business, and to wish to be quickly at home. But Rangel did not wish to have it appear that this retreat was a choice of his, and therefore summoned a council of such as he knew were of his own opinion.

About twenty of us had at this time gone to see if we could make any prisoners among some gardens and planta-

tions hard by; we took five, and on my return Rangel called me aside and told me that the council had determined to retreat, desiring me to bring over the rest to it. Having known the man before, I had a kindness for him. How sir, said I to him can you now think of returning? What will Cortes and the world say of you, when they hear of your retreat without effecting any thing in these two expeditions? You surely cannot think of returning till you have reached the head town of these Indians! I will go forward on foot and reconoitre with the infantry, give my horse to another soldier, and do you follow in the rear with the cavalry. By heavens cries out Rangel, for he was a very loud talker, Bernal Diaz gives good advice; the lot is cast and we will march on. This was accordingly done, contrary to the inclination of several, and we advanced in good order to Cimaton, the principal town, where we were saluted as usual with a flight of arrows, and then, on entry, found it abandoned. We burned it in part, and took several Indians whom we dismissed, desiring them to invite their neighbours to peace and amity; but those we sent never returned to us. This enraged Rangel against me, and he swore I should procure him Indians in the place of those who had been liberated. To pacify him I was fain to go with thirty soldiers, and we picked up some among the marshes, whom I brought to him and he dismissed, in hopes of inducing the rest to come in, but without effect. Thus ended the famous expedition against the Zapotecans, and such was all the fame Rangel acquired in the wars. In two years afterwards we effected the conquest of these countries, the natives whereof were converted to our holy faith, through the grace of God, and the exertions of the reverend father Bartholome de Olmedo, who poor man was at that time grown weak and infirm. Pity it was, for he was an excellent minister of the gospel.

Cortes had now collected eighty thousand crowns in gold, and a golden culverin, which he named the Phœnix, and had caused to be made as a present for the Emperor, was finished.

It was a superb piece of workmanship. The following motto was engraved on it.

"Esta Ave nacio sin par; Yo en servir os sin segundo;
Y vos sin igual en el Mundo.

"The immortal Phœnix peerless sweeps the air;
To Charles is given boundless rule to bear;
Zealous to conquer, at my King's command,
I in my services unrivalled stand."

This present was sent to Europe under the care of Diego de Soto. I am not certain if J. de Ribera, formerly secretary to Cortes, went with it. I always thought him a bad kind of man, from what I observed in him at play, either with cards or dice: besides this he had many ill qualities.

He however was sent to Castille, and took a sum of money with him for the general's father; which money he appropriated to his own use, and then, unmindful of the obligations he had received, said much ill of Cortes; and being very flippant and fluent of speech, and having been his secretary, he obtained credit for what he said, and combining with the Bishop of Burgos and others, did him much harm; and would have done more had it not been for the interference of the Duke of Bejar, who protected Cortes on account of a treaty of marriage which was then on foot, between our general and a niece of that Duke, named Donna Juana de Zuniga. This, combined with the seasonable arrival of the present, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of Cortes.

In regard to the golden Phœnix, I must observe, that the motto gave great offence to many, as they thought it presumption in Cortes to say he had no equal in his services. But his friends justly defended him; for who had extended so far the fame and power of his Majesty, or brought so many thousands of souls to the dominion of our holy church? They also did not forget us his associates, but declared that

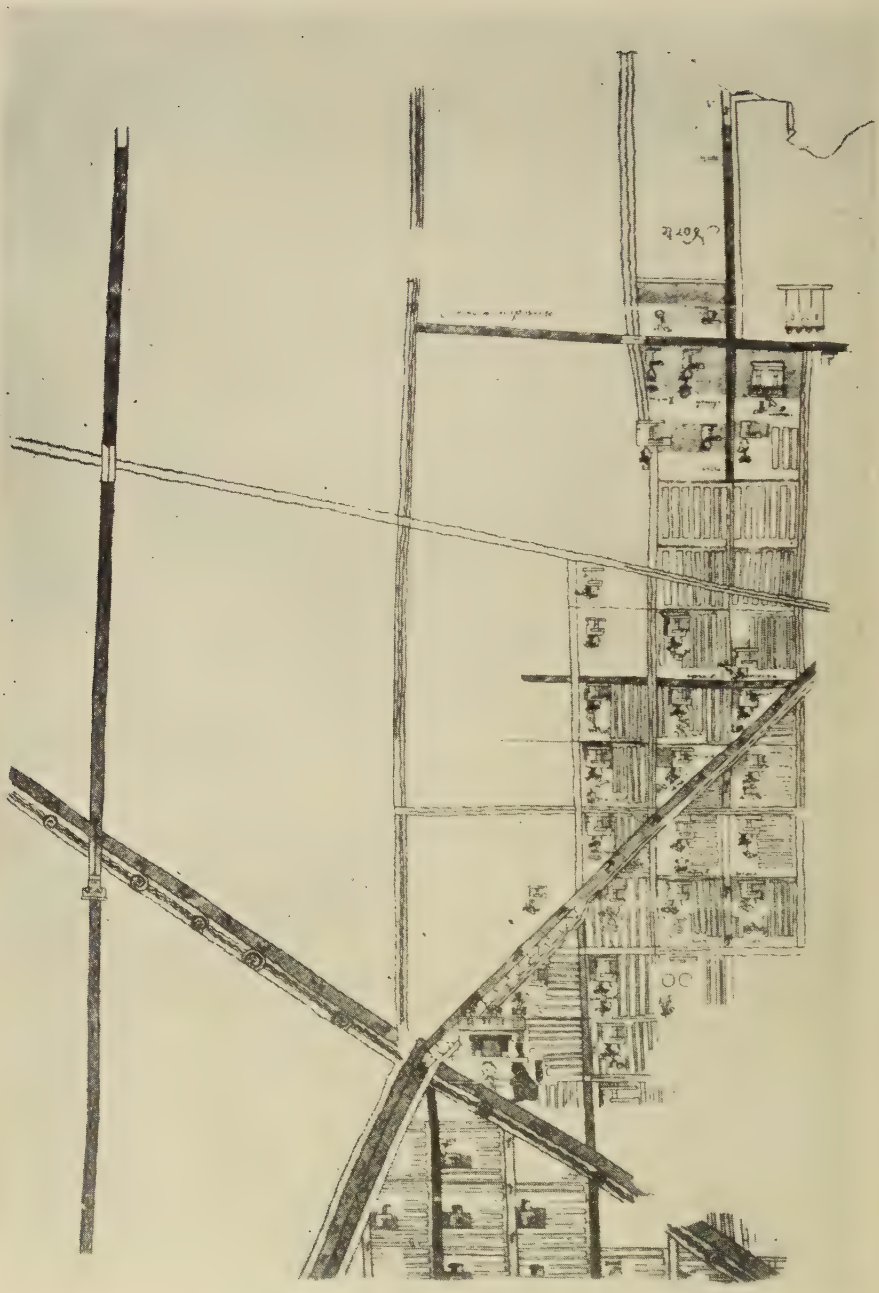
we also were intitled to honours and emoluments, having earned them, as the Castillian nobility did those enjoyed by their descendants.

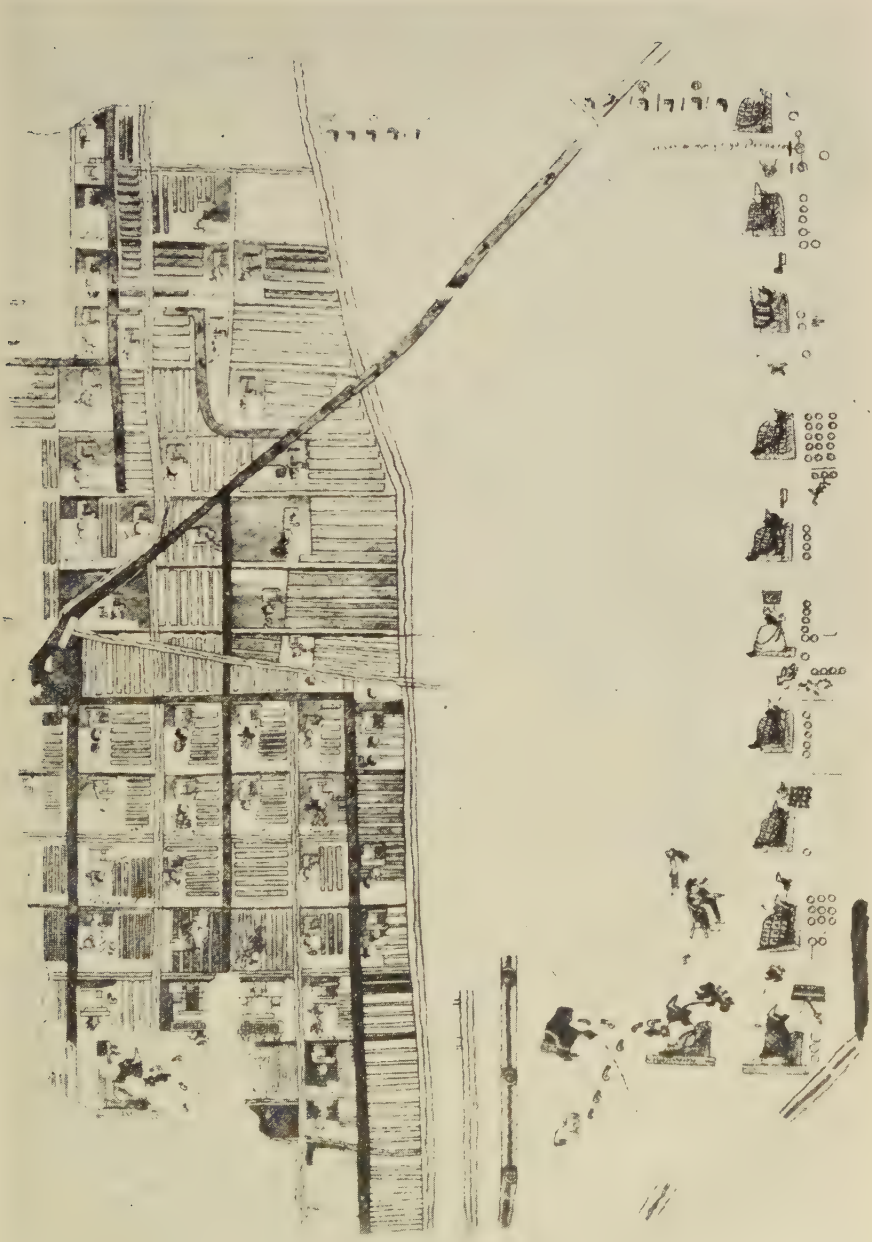
As to the culverin, it went no farther than the city of Seville; his Majesty was pleased to make a present of it to Don Francisco de los Cobos, commendador major of Leon, who melted it down. Its value amounted to twenty thousand ducats.

A suit was commenced by Martin Cortes against Ribera, on account of the money of which the latter had defrauded him. While it was yet pending, and as Ribera was on a journey, he stopped to dine at the town of Cadahalsa, where, eating some broiled meat, he fell down dead suddenly, and without confession. God pardon his sins! Amen.

Cortes continued to rebuild and embellish the city of Mexico. It was now as well peopled by the natives as it had ever been before. He gave them privileges, exempting them from all tribute to his Majesty until their houses were completed, as also the causeways, bridges, public edifices, and aqueducts. In the Spanish quarter churches and hospitals were erected, under the care of the good father Bartholome de Olmedo, as vicar and superior. This reverend father had also established an hospital for the natives, to whom he paid the utmost attention.

In compliance with our petition to his Majesty, as formerly related, Don Francisco de los Angeles, general of the Franciscans, sent twelve of his order under the vicarage of father Martin de Valencia. Amongst them came father Toribio de Motolinea; this sirname, the meaning of which is, the poor brother, was given him by the Mexicans, because all that he got in charity he distributed in the same manner, and was frequently without a morsel to eat. He also always went barefooted, and wore a tattered habit, and constantly preaching to the natives, was very popular among them. As soon as Cortes was informed of their arrival at Villa Rica, he gave directions for the road to Mexico to be put in good





PORTIONS OF AN AZTEC PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF MEXICO, NOW PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF MEXICO.

order, houses to be built at proper stations for them to refresh in, and the inhabitants of all the towns to go out to receive them with reverence, ringing the bells, bearing crucifixes and lighted wax candles, and the Spaniards to kneel down and kiss their hands. When they approached Mexico, he went out to meet them and as soon as they appeared, Cortes threw himself from his horse to kiss the hands of the reverend vicar. When the natives saw the general on his knees to those reverend fathers, with bare feet and in tattered habits, they were astonished, and considering them as gods, they all followed his example, and have continued to do so ever since.

Cortes at this time thought it necessary to inform his Majesty of his proceedings in the conversion of the natives, the rebuilding of the city, and the expedition which he had sent against the province of Honduras under the command of De Oli, who had deserted, and embraced the party of Velasquez, on which account he had determined to send a force against him. He also complained of the proceedings of Velasquez, and of the injury his Majesty's service had sustained thereby, as also by the partiality of the Bishop of Burgos. He remitted at the same time thirty thousand crowns in gold to his Majesty's treasury, and lamented the unfortunate effects of those abuses, as having prevented him from making an ampler contribution of gold. He at the same time complained of one Rodrigo de Albornos, contador in Mexico, who aspersed him from private motives, because he had refused to give him in marriage the daughter of the Indian lord of Tescuco, adding that he understood that this Albornos was attached to the interest of the Bishop of Burgos, and was accustomed to write to him in cyphers.

At this time the news of the bishop's removal had not reached Mexico. Albornos, before mentioned, sent by the same vessel his accusations against Cortes, charging him with levying excessive contributions of gold for his own use. That he was fortifying castles, and marrying the daugh-

ters of great lords to his private soldiers, insinuating that Cortes was endeavouring to set himself up as an independent king, and strongly representing the necessity of sending an officer with a great force, to supercede him. These letters came to the hands of the Bishop of Burgos, who laid them before the whole junto of the enemies of Cortes, and this new matter was immediately brought before his Majesty. They complained of the partiality which they alledged was shewn towards him on former occasions, and his Majesty, deceived by these misrepresentations, which were enforced by the bold and lofty tone of Narvaez, now issued an order for the admiral of St. Domingo to go with six hundred soldiers to arrest Cortes, and make him answer if he found him culpable, with his head. Also to punish all those of us who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez. As an encouragement, this officer was promised the admiralty of New Spain, the right of which was now under litigation in the courts.

The admiral, either from want of money, or being apprehensive of serious consequences from committing himself against so able and so successful a leader as Cortes, delayed setting out upon his expedition so long, that it gave time to the friends and agents of Cortes to make a full explanation of the circumstances, and also of the conduct of Albornos, to the Duke of Bejar, who immediately went to wait upon the Emperor, to represent the true state of the case, and to offer his life as a security for the loyalty and good conduct of Cortes.

His Majesty being upon due consideration convinced of the justice of our cause, determined to send a person of high quality and sound judgment, and one who feared the Lord, to hold a supreme court of justice in New Spain. Such a person he found in the licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, cousin to the count Don Martin de Cordova. To him his Majesty intrusted the business of enquiry into the conduct of Cortes, with full power to inflict the greatest punishment, in case he

should find him guilty. It was however two years and an half before this gentleman arrived in New Spain.

I have now gone beyond the date of my narrative two years in advance, to inform the reader of this circumstance; and I may now also mention, that during the viceroyalty of Don Anthonio de Mendoza, that most illustrious nobleman, worthy of eternal memory and heavenly glory, for his wise and just government, this same Albornos wrote slanderous and malignant letters of him, as he had done before of Cortes. The letters which related to Don Anthonio were all returned from Castille, into the hands of that nobleman, and when he had read them, with all the personal abuse of himself that they contained, he sent for Albornos, and shewing them to him, said in his mild and slow manner of speaking, "whenever you choose to make me the subject of your letters to his Majesty, mind that in future you tell the truth; and now go about your business, for a knave as you are." Thus he left the contador, overwhelmed with confusion.

Chapter vii.

Expedition of Cortes to Higueras.

De Oli I have already mentioned as having revolted. When Cortes received intelligence of this, it made him very pensive; but as he was one not to be trifled with in such cases, he determined to send a gentleman who was his relation, by name Francisco de las Casas, with five ships, and one hundred well provided soldiers, having with them some of the original veteran conquerors of Mexico.

Las Casas set out from the port of Vera Cruz, with his good ships, and his pennants flying, and with fair winds arrived at the bay named El Triumpho de la Cruz, where De Oli had established his post. Although Las Casas hoisted the signal of peace, De Oli determined upon making resistance, and embarking a number of soldiers in two armed vessels, he sent them to oppose Las Casas, who being a brave man was determined to land at all events; he therefore ordered out his boats and arming them with swivels and musquetry, attacked the other party, and sunk one of their vessels, killing four soldiers and wounding many. When De Oli saw this he thought it advisable to propose terms of peace, for a considerable part of his soldiers were detached up the country, in search of another body of troops which was making conquests there, about the river Pechin. This last mentioned party was commanded by a Captain Gil Gonzalez de Avila.

De Oli as I have already related being in expectation of the return of his detachment, wished for a truce with Las Casas, which the latter for his misfortune agreed to, and remained at sea, partly in the intention of looking out for some other place of disembarkation, and partly induced by letters

from the friends of Cortes who were in the troops commanded by De Oli. On that night a hard gale sprung up, by which our vessels were driven on shore and entirely lost, with above thirty of the soldiers. The rest were made prisoners, after being two days without food, and almost dying with cold, being thoroughly soaked in the salt water and with rain which at that season fell very heavily. De Oli was very triumphant on this occasion. He made his prisoners swear fidelity to him against Cortes, releasing them all except Las Casas. The parties he had sent out against Gonzalez de Avila returned about this time. It seems that Avila came there as governor of Golfo Dolce, and had founded a town which he named St. Gil de Buena Vista. De Oli on hearing of it sent his troops against him, who in their first attack had taken Avila prisoner, killed his nephew, and also eight of his soldiers. De Oli was now in great state with two captains as his prisoners, and that all might know his valour which certainly was very great so far as his own person was concerned, he wrote a full account of his exploits to his friend Velasquez. He afterwards marched up the country to a place called Naco, in a very populous district, the whole of which is now destroyed. While De Oli remained here, he sent out troops on different excursions; among others he sent a party under one Captain Briones who was the first to instigate him to revolt. He was a seditious fellow, and the lower parts of his ears had been cut off, as he used to tell us, for refusing, together with other officers, to surrender themselves in a certain fortress. This man was afterwards hanged in Guatimala for mutiny. To return to my narrative, intelligence came to De Oli, that Briones with his whole body had revolted from him, and gone to New Spain, which turned out to be the case.

Las Casas and De Avila being at large, though prisoners, for De Oli was too brave to be under any apprehensions from them, concerted a plan with some soldiers to put him to death, the signal for which was to be the words, "To me,

friends of the King and Cortes, kill the tyrant!" Las Casas half in jest as it were, and laughing, then asked him for liberty to return to Cortes; to which De Oli replied, that he was too happy to have so brave a man for his companion, and did not choose to part with him. "Then," said Las Casas in the same manner, "take care that one of these days I do not kill you." All this the other considered as a joke; but the measures were taken, and one night after supper, when the cloths were taken away, and the servants and pages had sat down in their apartment, as Juan Nunez de Mercado and other soldiers of the party of Cortes, Las Casas, and Avila, were conversing with De Oli upon the affairs of Mexico, and the fortune of Cortes, he being entirely unsuspicious of their designs, the conspirators suddenly drew out penknives and fell upon him. Las Casas seizing him by the beard made a cut at his throat, and the others gave him several wounds; but such was his strength and activity of body, that he escaped out of their hands for the present, calling aloud to his people for assistance, but they were all too busily employed at their suppers to hear him. He then fled, and concealed himself among some bushes, in hopes of assistance. Many were in the act of coming to him for the purpose, but were deterred by the cries of Las Casas not to assist the tyrant, but to rally on the side of their King, and his general Cortes. They first hesitated, and then obeyed; and Las Casas immediately gave notice, that whoever knew where De Oli was, and did not immediately reveal it, should suffer death. Information was soon given, in consequence of which he was made prisoner, and, by sentence of the two captains, beheaded in the town of Naco, thus paying with his life for having followed evil counsels; being a very brave man, but of no foresight. Cortes had conferred many favours on him; he held a commission of Maestre de Campo, had valuable estates, and was married to Donna Philippa de Aranja, a handsome Portugueze lady, by whom he had one daughter.

Las Casas and Avila being now free and their enemy dead,

joined their troops together, and acted in concert. Las Casas colonized Truxillo in Estremadura; Avila sent a message to his lieutenant in Buena Vista, ordering him to remain as he was, and that he should shortly receive reinforcement, which he was going to request from Cortes at Mexico. The two captains having set out for that city, I will now take my leave of them for the present.

Cortes, in some months after the departure of Las Casas, began to grow apprehensive of a disaster; not that he entertained the least doubt of the valour or conduct of that officer, but he repented, under the circumstances of the case, that he had not taken the command himself. He was also anxious to examine the state of that province, more especially its mines, and for these reasons now determined to set out upon his journey thither. He appointed a good garrison to take charge of the city of Mexico during his absence, and provided the different posts with artillery, leaving as his deputies in the government, the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the contador Albornoz. Cortes did not know the secret services the latter had been rendering him at court, or he probably would not have left him in power, although on the other hand it is possible, that he could not have avoided it. He appointed the licentiate Zuazo alguazil major of the city, and as alguazil major and agent in his private concerns, Rodrigo de Paz. To these he strongly insisted on the strictest attention, both to the interest of his Majesty, and the conversion of the natives. This he also recommended to the worthy fathers Motolinea and Olmedo, both holy men.

In order to deprive the Mexicans of chiefs, in case they should attempt to rise, he took with him Guatimotzin the late king, the chief of Tacuba, Velasquez an Indian and captain under Guatimotzin, and several others. There came also with us Fra Juan de las Varillas, another clergyman, two reverend fathers, Flemings, and good theologians, to preach the faith, and the captains De Sandoval and Luis Marin, with many other cavaliers. The suite, or officers who at-

tended the person of Cortes were as follows; a steward and paymaster, a keeper of the plate, a major domo, two stewards of the household, a butler, a confectioner, a chamberlain, a physician, a surgeon, a number of pages of his household, amongst whom was D. Francisco de Montejo afterwards captain in Yucatan, two armour bearers, eight grooms, two falconers, five musicians, a stage dancer, a jugler and puppet player, a master of the horse, three Spanish muleteers. The general brought a great service of gold and silver plate, and a large drove of swine for his table followed feeding by the way. Three thousand Mexican warriors attended their chiefs, besides a numerous train of domestics.

When the party was on the point of setting out, the factor Salazar, and the veedor Chirinos, either seeing or affecting to see much danger likely to result from Cortes quitting the seat of government, and finding also that they had not been left in any station during his absence, remonstrated with him, but finding it to be to no purpose, they then requested permission to accompany him as far as Guacacualco. To this he gave his consent, and they accordingly set out. Cortes was received in all the places upon his way with such pomp and rejoicing as is not in my power to describe. Above fifty soldiers and straggling travellers newly arrived from Castille joined him upon the road, and the general divided his troops in two parties, until their arrival at Guacacualco, for the greater convenience of obtaining provisions.

During the journey, the veedor and factor kept themselves close to Cortes, especially the latter, playing a hundred tricks of servility and obsequiousness, and every word he spoke, he was cap in hand, and with his fluent speech, and smooth words, as it were trying to get him back to Mexico, and expressing his solicitude for his safety. Sometimes when he was riding by the side of the general he would sing, "Ay tio bolvamonos, ay tio bolvamonos." Then Cortes would laugh at him and reply singing,

"Adelante mi sobrino, adelante mi sobrino,
Y no creais in agueros, que sera lo que dios quisiere.
Adelante mi sobrino.

"Oh good uncle let us return.
Forward, dear nephew forward,
Trust in God and never heed auguries."

Quitting the subject of our factor and his delicate speeches, I have now to mention how a marriage took place on the arrival of the party at the town of Ojeda, which is near that of Orizava, between our linguist Donna Marina, and Juan Xaramillo. The next place they came to was Guazpaltepeque, in the district of Sandoval. As soon as intelligence reached Guacacualco of the advance of Cortes to Guazpaltepeque, all the Spaniards of that settlement came thirty three leagues to receive him. This I mention that the reader may see what fear and respect he was held in by us. Proceeding beyond the place last mentioned, in crossing a large river, fortune began to frown upon us, for three of our canoes overset, whereby some plate and other valuables were lost, for that river is so full of alligators that there was no recovering any thing. Passing Illuta, when we came to the river by Guacacualco we found three hundred canoes fastened two and two to carry us over; here we were received under triumphal arches, and with various festivities representing skirmishes of Christians and Moors, together with fireworks and other shows of that kind.

Here Cortes remained six days, during which time the factor was continually sounding in his ears the burthen of his old song. He also told him of secret practices of the contador and the treasurer, who boasted that he was the son of his catholic Majesty, and in short a number of stories, the drift of all which was, to induce Cortes to supercede the present deputies, and put him, and the veedor, in their places. In this he too well succeeded; for by his arts he obtained

from the general a deputation for himself and his associate the veedor, to hold the government of Mexico, in case they should judge that the present deputies failed in their duty. These intrigues caused much trouble afterwards in Mexico as I will relate at the proper time. The reverend father blamed Cortes for what he had done, and foresaw the consequences that followed. The veedor and factor now took their leaves, with such tenderness and affection, the latter pretending to sob and cry with sorrow at parting, that it was ridiculous to see it. The fellow had by the tricks of his friend Valiente the secretary, got at that time in his pocket the documents he wanted for the furtherance of his views in Mexico, of which as I before observed I will say no more for the present, but continue the narrative of our painful journey, for I left this place with the general, and attended him throughout.

Cortes now sent orders to one of his major domos, Simon de Cuenca, at Villa Rica, to freight two light vessels with biscuit of maiz, (for at that time there was no wheat in New Spain,) six pipes of wine, oil, vinegar, pork, iron, and other necessary articles, and to proceed with them along the coast, northward, until he should receive further directions. The general then ordered all the settlers of Guacacualco who were fit for service to join his expedition. I have already mentioned how this colony was formed out of the most respectable hidalgos, and ancient conquerors of the country; and now that we had reason to expect to be left in quiet possession of our hard earned properties, our houses and farms, we were obliged to undertake an hostile expedition to the distance of five hundred leagues, and which took up the time of above two years and a half. But we dared not say no, neither would it avail us. We therefore armed ourselves, and mounting our horses, joined the expedition, making in the whole above two hundred and fifty veterans, of whom one hundred and thirty were cavalry, besides many Spaniards newly arrived from Europe.

I was immediately ordered to march at the head of thirty Spaniards and three thousand Mexicans, to a district named Cimatan, which was in rebellion, with directions to quarter my troops on the natives, and if I found them submissive, to do no farther injury, but if refractory, they were to be summoned intelligibly, three times, in presence of a royal notary and proper witnesses, and in case they persisted, I was to make war on, and compel them to submit. The orders which I received from the general I now have in my possession, signed and sealed by him, and countersigned by his secretary, A. Valiente. I found the people peaceable, but in a few months after, in consequence of the settlers of Guacacualco being withdrawn, they broke out again. However they being in the state that I have mentioned, I made no delay, but set out with my detachment to rejoin Cortes at Iquinapa.

The general, with the rest of his troops, leaving Guacacualco, proceeded to Tonala, crossed a river to Ayaqualulco, crossed another river, and, seven leagues distant an arm of the sea, upon a bridge of half a quarter of a league in length; a most astonishing work in such a situation, and constructed by the natives of the country under the inspection of two captains, settlers of Guacacualco. They then proceeded to a large river named Mazapa, which flows by Chiapa, and is named by mariners Rio de dos Bocas; this they crossed in double canoes, and proceeding through some villages, came to Iquinapa, where my detachment joined them. We then crossed another river on wooden bridges, also an arm of the sea, and came to a great town named Copilco, where the province of Chontalpa begins, which was very populous, covered with plantations of cocoa, and perfectly tranquil.

From Copilco we marched to Nicaxuxuica, and to Zagutan, passing another river, in which the general lost some articles of his baggage. The last mentioned town was found by us in a state of peace, but the inhabitants fled during the night. Cortes ordered parties out to search the woods and

make prisoners, which was a very inconsiderate thing, and productive of bad consequences; we found, it is true, after much trouble, seven chiefs and some others, but they all made their escape from us again during the night, and we were thus left without guides. At this period arrived at our quarters fifty canoes from Tabasco, loaded with provisions, also some from a place named Teapan in my encomienda.

We proceeded on our march to Tepetitan and Iztapa, crossing a great river named Chilapa, at which we were detained four days making barks. I proposed to Cortes, to send five of our Indian guides to a town of the same name, which I understood to be on the banks of this river, to desire the people to assist us with their canoes. Cortes assented, and it was done; we procured six large canoes, and also provisions. We were four days in passing.

From this we went on to Tepetitan which was depopulated and burnt, in consequence of a civil war. For three days of our march from the river of Chilapa, our horses were almost constantly up to the girths in the marshy grounds which we had to pass. We then reached a place named Iztapa, the inhabitants of which had fled. We sent in search of them, and several chiefs and others were brought in, who being treated kindly, made the general a present of some trifling articles in gold. We halted here for three days on account of the plenty of corn and grass; Cortes also approved of it for the scite of a colony, it being surrounded by many towns which might be attached to it as dependencies. From the travelling merchants here, Cortes obtained information as to his future route, producing to them a map painted on cloth, whereon was represented the way which he was to take to reach Huyacala, which means great Acala; it being so called to distinguish it from another place of that name. They told him that the way he was to take was much intersected by rivers; and that in order to reach a place named Tamaztepeque, three days journey distant, three rivers and an arm of the sea were to be crossed. The general in con-

sequence gave orders to the chiefs to construct bridges at the proper places, and also to bring canoes; neither of which was obeyed.

The three days which the natives assured us the journey would take up, turned out to be no less than seven; but they succeeded in getting rid of us, and we set out, provided only with roasted maiz and roots sufficient for three days. We were obliged to construct bridges of timber, at which all laboured from the general downwards, which detained us three days, during which time we had nothing to eat but a certain wild plant named Quexquexque, which inflames the mouth and tongue. When we had crossed this inlet we found no road whatever, and we were obliged to open our way through the woods, as it were, sword in hand. After labouring thus for two days in hopes of reaching the place which we were in search of, we became totally in despair. The trees were so thick that we could not see the sun, and when we ascended to the top of one we could not discover to any distance. Of our three guides also two had fled, and the third was incapable of rendering any service. Cortes, whose resources were inexhaustible, guided himself by a mariners compass, and by his Indian map, according to which, the town we were in quest of, lay to the east. Cortes himself was however forced to acknowledge, that if we were one day more without discovering it, he did not know what we should do.

Fortunately we at this time perceived the remains of trees which had been formerly cut, and also a small lane or path, and Lopez the pilot and I returned to report our discovery to the general. Our news revived the spirits of the army, and we pushed forward to a village on the opposite side of a river, where, though the inhabitants had abandoned it, we found sufficiency of provisions for ourselves and our horses. Parties were immediately sent out in quest of the natives, and they soon returned, bringing with them many chiefs and priests, who being well treated, procured us a plentiful

supply of provisions, and pointed out our way to Izguantepeque, which was three days journey, or sixteen leagues distant from this town of Tamaztepeque. During our journey hither we lost our stage dancer by fatigue, as also three of the newly arrived Spaniards, and many of the Mexicans were left to die upon the road. It came also to be discovered that some of their chiefs had seized two or three of the natives of the places through which we passed, and concealed them with the baggage, until through hunger they had killed and eaten them, dressing the bodies in their manner, which is, by a kind of oven made with heated stones which are put under ground. On enquiry it was also found out that they had done the same with two of our guides who had fled from us, but were retaken. Cortes severely reprehended all those concerned, and one of the reverend father Franciscans preached a holy and wise sermon on the occasion, after which, by way of example, the general caused one against whom it was most clearly proved to be burnt; for though all were equally guilty, yet in the present circumstances one example was judged sufficient. As for our poor musicians with their instruments, their sackbuts, and dulcimers, they felt the loss of the regales and feasts of Castille, and now their harmony was stopt, excepting one only, whom the soldiers used to curse whenever he struck up, saying it was maiz and not music that they wanted. Some persons have asked me how it happened that since necessity has no law, we did not, rather than starve, lay our hands on the herd of pigs which Cortes brought with him. To this I reply that they were not within our sight or reach, and the general's steward, who was a sly artful fellow, said that they had all been eaten by the alligators in crossing the river. But in reality they had them four days march behind the army. On our route we made crosses in the living trees, and put inscriptions on them saying, "here passed Cortes and his army at such a time."

The Indians of Tamaztepeque sent forward to our next station, Ciguatepecad, to inform the people of our approach,

and remove their apprehensions. They also, to the number of twenty attended us thither, where, being arrived and halted, Cortes was anxious to know the course of a large river which flows by that town. Upon enquiry he found that it discharged itself in certain inlets of the sea, near the towns named Gueyatasta, and Xicalango, and thereby he thought that he could conveniently send two Spaniards to the north coast, to obtain information relative to his ships. One of his messengers was Francisco de Medina, to whom he gave a joint commission of captain with Simon de Cuenca, his officer whom he had employed to freight and command the ships. De Medina was an able and diligent man, and well acquainted with the country; it would have been better however on the present occasion if he had not been entrusted with such powers; as will appear. De Medina having gone down the river to meet the vessels, and having arrived at Xicalonga where they were at anchor, waiting to hear from Cortes, presented the general's letters to Cuenca, and also produced his own commission as captain. A dispute immediately ensued between these two officers relative to the chief command, and each being supported by a party, they had recourse to arms, and fought until there were not eight Spaniards on both sides left alive. When the neighbouring Indians perceived this they fell upon the survivors, put them to death, and destroyed the two ships, so that we did not, for two years and a half, know what was become of them.

We were informed at our present quarters, that the town of Gueyacala was distant three days march from us, and that our way was across deep rivers and trembling marches. Cortes accordingly sent two soldiers to examine them, who, sounding and trying the rivers, came back and reported that they were passable by constructing wooden bridges across them, but as to the marshes, which lay more distant, and which were the most material, they made no examination at all. Cortes also sent me and one Gonzalo de Mexia forward to Gueyacala, with some guides who offered themselves from

our present quarters. We set out accordingly, but in the night our Indians left us, for it seemed that the two nations were at war, and we were now forced to rely entirely on ourselves. When we arrived at the first town belonging to the district of Gueyacala, which is the chief over about twenty others, the inhabitants of it shewed some signs of jealousy, but we soon reconciled them. This district is much intersected by lakes, rivers, and trembling marshes. Some of the dependent towns are in islands, and all the communication is by canoes. We invited the chiefs to go and wait upon Cortes, but this they declined on account of the hostility between the two nations. It seems that on the first day of our arrival they had no idea of our force, but on the next they had received further intelligence concerning it, and treated us with more deference. They promised that they would provide every accommodation for our people on their arrival, and while we were engaged in discourse with them on these subjects, two Spaniards sent by Cortes brought me letters, wherein he ordered, that I should within three days meet him with all the provisions that I could collect, for that he had been deserted by the natives, and was on his way to Gueyacala without any necessaries whatever. The Spaniards also informed me, that four of our soldiers who had been detached by Cortes higher up the river had not returned, and were supposed to be murdered, as afterwards appeared to be the case.

Cortes pursued his march, and was for four days employed in constructing his bridge across the great river, during which time the army suffered dreadfully from hunger, having left their last quarters without any provisions whatever. Some old soldiers cut down trees resembling the palm, and procured nuts which they roasted and eat. A very poor resource for so many. On the night that the bridge was finished I arrived with one hundred and thirty loads of corn, honey, fruit, and salt, and eighty fowls. It was dark, and Cortes had made mention of his expectation of my arrival. The

consequence was, that the soldiers waited for me, and immediately laid violent hands on every atom of provisions which I had brought, not leaving any thing for Cortes or the other officers. The general's steward and major domo cried out, "this is for the general," and "do not touch that," but it was to no avail, the soldiers said that the general and the others had been eating their hogs, while the poor soldiers were famishing, and neither entreaties nor arguments could induce them to leave him so much as a single load of corn. Cortes lost all patience when he heard of it, and swore that he would make enquiry and punish those who had committed the outrage, and who had talked about the hogs. But he soon found that this was merely crying in the desert. He then blamed me, but I told him that a guard should have been appointed to receive the provisions when they were brought in, for that hunger knows no law. As he saw there was no remedy he returned to me, and, Captain De Sandoval being present, addressed me with good words saying, "my dear friend Del Castillo I am sure that you have left something behind you on the road for yourself and our friend here; do let us go together, and permit me to share it with you." Sandoval also said that he vowed to his God he had not so much as a handful of maiz. When thus applied to I could not refuse them. "Well," said I, "when the soldiers are all asleep, come with me, and take shares of what I provided for myself and those with me;" which was, twelve loads of maiz, twenty fowls, three jars of honey, fruits, and salt; I had also some women to make bread. They both thanked and embraced me, and so we escaped famine for this time. Cortes enquired how the reverend fathers had fared, but there was no cause of apprehension for them, as each soldier gave them a portion of what he had obtained. Such are the hardships attendant upon expeditions in unexplored countries! our general, feared as he was by the soldiers, had his provisions pillaged, and was in danger of starving, and Captain De Sandoval would not trust any one, but went himself to get his

ration from me. On continuing our march, when we had advanced about a league from the river, we came to those desperate trembling marshes. Here our horses were near being all smothered; but as the distance was not above half a bow shot between the firm ground on each side, we contrived to draw them through it by main force, and when we had gotten across, after returning thanks to God, Cortes sent to Gueyacala for a fresh supply of provisions, of which he took care not to be plundered as on the former occasion, and on the ensuing day the whole of our party arrived, at an early hour, in the town of Gueyacala, where the chiefs attended, and had made ample preparations for our reception.

Cortes, having done whatever was necessary to conciliate the good will of these people, enquired of them relative to his future march, and also, if they had ever received any intelligence of ships being on the coast, or of any settlement of Europeans there. They told him, that at the distance of eight days journey there were many men with beards like ourselves, who had horses, and three ships with them. They also furnished him with a map of his route, and offered their assistance during the march; but in answer to his demand that they would open the way for us, they represented to him the disobedience of some of their dependencies, and expressed their wishes to reduce them to submission by our means. This duty he gave to Diego de Mazariegos, a relation of the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, as a compliment to him, and calling me aside, he desired that I would attend him upon the occasion as his counsellor, from my experience in the affairs of the country. This I should not now mention, nor do I as a boast, but it is my duty as an historian, and further, it was well known to the whole army, and his Majesty was informed of it in the letters written to him by Cortes. About eighty of us went with Mazariegos upon this occasion. When we arrived, we found the district in the best disposition possible; the chiefs returned with us to wait

on Cortes, and brought with them a most plentiful supply of provisions. In about four days after this, all the native chiefs deserted us, and we were left with only three guides, to pursue our route, which we did, crossing two rivers, to another town in the district of Gueyacala, which we found abandoned.

Here was the scene of the death of Guatimotzin, last native king of the Mexicans. It appeared that a plot had been entered into by this unfortunate man, together with many others of his nobility, to murder the Spaniards, and return to Mexico; and that on their arrival, they intended to make a junction of all their forces, and attack the Spanish garrison. Their treason was communicated to the general by two lords named Tapia and Juan Velasquez, who had commanded under Guatimotzin during the siege. As soon as Cortes got the knowledge of it he took the informations, not only of these two, but also of several others concerned; their confession was, that perceiving we marched without precaution, that discontent prevailed, that many of our soldiers were sick, and provisions so scarce that ten Spaniards had died of hunger absolutely, and others had returned to Mexico, considering also the uncertainty of our fate and destination they had decided, that dying at once was preferable to going with us any farther. They had therefore resolved to try their fortunes, and fall upon us at the passage of some river or marsh, their numbers being an encouragement to the attempt, as they exceeded three thousand well armed men. Guatimotzin denied that the whole of the Mexican force was concerned in this plot, or that it would have ever been, to his knowledge, carried into effect. But he admitted that it had been heard though never approved of by him. The prince of Tacuba declared that all which had ever passed between Guatimotzin and him was, frequent declarations that to lose their lives at once would be preferable to wasting in the manner they were, in a slow death, by hunger and fatigue, and seeing the distresses of their friends suffering around

them. Without any more proofs whatever, Cortes ordered Guatimotzin and his cousin the prince of Tacuba to be hanged immediately, and the preparations for the execution being made, they were brought to the place attended by the reverend fathers. Before he was executed, the king turning round to Cortes said, "Malintzin! now I find in what your false words and promises have ended;—in my death.—Better that I had fallen by my own hands than trust myself in your power in my city of Mexico.—Why do you thus unjustly take my life? May God demand of you this innocent blood!" The prince of Tacuba only said that he was happy to die by the side of his lawful sovereign. Thus ended the lives of these two great men, and I must say like good christians, and for Indians, most piously; and I heartily pitied Guatimotzin and his cousin, having seen them in such great fortune and situations. They behaved very kindly to me during our march, doing me many services, especially giving me Indians to carry grass for my horse; and I also declare that they suffered their deaths most undeservingly, and so it appeared to us all, amongst whom there was but one opinion upon the subject; that it was a most unjust and cruel sentence.

We continued our march afterwards with great caution, from apprehensions of a mutiny among the Mexicans on account of the execution of their chiefs; but the wretches were so exhausted by famine, sickness, and fatigue, that they did not appear even to think about the matter. At night we arrived at a village which was abandoned by the inhabitants, but on searching we found eight priests who readily attended us to Cortes. He desired them to call back their neighbours, and that they should receive no injury. This the priests readily promised, requesting at the same time, that their idols which were in a temple adjoining the building wherein were the quarters of Cortes, should not be touched; which the general agreed to, but took the opportunity of expostulating with them upon the absurdity of venerating what was in reality no more than clay and timber. The

priests seemed very willing to embrace the true doctrine, and brought us twenty loads of fowls and maiz. To the question put to them by Cortes, how many days journey, or suns, it was, to the place where were the men with beards on their faces and who rode horses they replied, seven; that the place was named Nito, and they offered to be our guides thither.

Cortes caused a cross to be fixed in a large ceiba tree close to their temple, which as I have before mentioned joined to the building wherein he had taken his quarters. He was at this time very ill tempered, and sad. He was vexed by the difficulties and misfortunes which had attended his march, and his conscience upbraided him with the death of the unfortunate Guatimotzin. He was so distracted by these thoughts that he could not rest in his bed at night, and getting up in the dark to walk about, as a relief from his anxieties, he went into a large apartment where some of the idols were worshipped. Here, he missed his way, and fell from the height of twelve feet, to the ground, receiving a desperate wound and contusions in his head. This circumstance he tried to conceal, keeping his sufferings to himself, and getting his hurts cured as well as he could.

Quitting this place we arrived in two days at a district the people of which are called the Mazotecas, and found a newly built town, fortified and barricaded, with very strong pallisadoes in two circles, one of which was like a barbican, with loop holes, and trenches sunk before it. The part which was not fortified in this manner was defended by a perpendicular rock, the top of which was piled with stones shaped for the sling. It had also a parapet, and there was on one side of the town an impassable marsh. On entry we found every house filled with provisions of whatever kind the country afforded, and a magazine stocked with arms of all sorts, but not a single human being. While we were expressing our astonishment at these circumstances, fifteen Indians came out of the marsh, and addressing us with great submission, informed us that they had been driven to the construction of

this fortress, as a last resource in an unsuccessful war, in which they had been engaged with some of their neighbours, whom, as well as I recollect, they called the Lazandones. It seemed to be a warfare of plunder on each side. The name of this district means in their language a country abounding with game, which it was very well intitled to be called. Two of the Indians attended us from this place, and communicated to Cortes what they knew of the settlement of the Spaniards.

We now travelled through a country entirely open, consisting of vast plains without a tree. The heat of the sun was excessive, and the deer which fed over this extensive range of champaign were innumerable, and so tame as almost to come to our hands. The horsemen took them after the shortest pursuit, and we had in a very little space of time above twenty killed. Asking our guides the reason of these animals not being alarmed at the approach of men, we found that it was owing to a superstition of the people, who considered them to be divinities, as they said that their gods appeared to them in their forms; and also that their idols had commanded that they should be neither killed nor frightened. The heat of the weather was now so great, that a relation of the general's, named Palacios Rubios, lost his horse by pursuing the game. Pursuing our journey by villages where war had left its destructive marks, we met some Indians on their return from hunting. They had with them a huge lion which they had just killed, and some iguanas, a species of small serpent, very good to eat. They led us to their town, being obliged to wade up to our middles in a lake of fresh water with which it was surrounded. In this town was a large pond of fresh water, which was quite full of fishes, resembling what we call in Europe the shad fish, but enormously large, with prickles on their backs. We procured some nets, and took above a thousand, which afforded us a plentiful meal. We also procured here five Indians, who on our enquiry by description for our countrymen,

readily undertook to guide us to their settlement, for they at first thought that we came to put them to death, and were happy to find that they were likely to be rid of us on such easy terms.

We proceeded towards a place named Tayasal, situated on an island, the white temples, turrets, and houses of which, glistened from a distance. It was the chief town of a district. As the road grew very narrow we thought it best to halt for the night, four companies of soldiers being detached to the shore, to search for a passage. Luckily they took two canoes, in which were ten men and two women who were conveying salt and maize. Being brought to Cortes and questioned, they said, that they belonged to the town before us, which was distant about four leagues. Cortes detained one canoe and some of the people, particularly the women, and sent the others with two Spaniards to the chief, to demand from him canoes to cross the water. Our whole party then set out towards the river, and arriving there, we found the cacique waiting for us. He invited the general to his town, and Cortes embarked with thirty crossbow-men, and arriving there, was presented with some trifles of gold much alloyed, and a few mantles. They here informed him that they knew of Spaniards being at two different places, one of which it seems was Nito, the other San Gil de Buena Vista. He also learned that many more were at Naco, which is up the country, and distant ten days journey from Nito, which last mentioned place lies on the northern coast. The general on hearing this observed to us, that probably De Oli had divided his force, for as yet we knew nothing of Gil Gonzalez de Avila.

Our whole body having crossed the river, we halted at the distance of two leagues from it, to wait the return of Cortes. Here a Negro, two Indians, and three Spanish soldiers deserted; the latter preferring the taking their chance among enemies, to the repetition of the fatigues they had gone through. This day I was sun struck and fell ill of a calen-

ture. The weather also at this time changed, and for three days and nights it never ceased raining; but we were obliged to continue our journey under it, from the apprehension that our provisions should fall short. After two days march we came to a ridge of rocks, the stones whereof cut like knives; we sent soldiers a league's distance on each side to search for some other road, but to no effect. Our horses fell here at every step, and cut themselves to pieces, and the farther we proceeded on the descent, the worse it was. We left eight horses dead upon the spot, and most of the rest were so wounded as not to be able to keep up with us. Amongst others who received hurts the general's relation Palacios Rubios broke his leg by a fall. We called this place La Sierra de los Pedernales. When we had gotten over it we did not fail to return thanks to God for his mercy in extricating us from that difficulty. We then advanced chearfully towards a town named Taica, which lay before us, and where we hoped to find a sufficiency of every thing; but we were suddenly and unexpectedly stopped by an enormous torrent, which, being swelled by the heavy rains, came tumbling between great precipices with a noise which could be heard at the distance of two leagues. Here we were obliged to halt for three complete days, in order to make a bridge from one precipice to the other, and when at the end of the third day we began to pass over, we found that the people on the other side had taken advantage of our delay, to remove themselves and all their provisions out of our reach.

When we learned that after all our fatigues hunger was to be our portion, we seemed as it were thunder struck. I own I never in my life felt my heart so depressed as when I found nothing to be had for myself or my people; and this too on the eve of our Lord's resurrection! a pretty festival we had of it truly! Cortes, after sending out his servants every where, procured about a bushel of maiz. When he saw the distress which we were in, he called together the colonists of Guacacualco, as the flower of his army, and earnestly

solicited us to do our utmost to procure some necessaries. Pedro de Ircio who was present asked to be appointed to the command, to which Cortes assented; but I, who knew that De Ircio was more of a talking, than a marching soldier, and that he would lag by the way and retard us, whispered Cortes and Sandoval to prevent his going, for he being duck legged, could not get through the deep ground and mire like us, and would be obliged to sit down. Cortes therefore ordered him to stay, and five of us setting out together, with two guides, and crossing rivers and marshes, came to some Indian houses where we found provisions in plenty. Here we also took some prisoners, and with their fruit, fowls, and corn, we celebrated the feast of the resurrection heartily. On the same night arrived a thousand Mexicans, whom Cortes had ordered to follow us. We joyfully loaded them with all the corn that we could procure, and twenty fowls for Cortes and Sandoval, and there still remained some corn in the town which we staid to guard. On the next day we advanced to other villages, where we found such a plenty of corn that we wrote a billet to Cortes, with ink which we made, and on a piece of a drum head, desiring him to send all the Indians that he could, to carry it to our people.

Thirty soldiers and about five hundred Indians in a short time arrived, and thus, thanks to God, we were amply provided for the remainder of the five days, during which we staid at Taica. I must observe, that the bridges which we constructed on this march, remained perfectly good for many years, and that the Spaniards, when they passed them used to say, "these are the bridges of Cortes," as formerly it used to be said, "here are the pillars of Hercules." We continued our march for two days, to a place named Tania, through a country intersected with rivers and rivulets, and where all the towns were abandoned; and during the night, our guides, being intrusted to the care of some of the newly arrived Spaniards who I suppose slept upon their posts, made their escape. Thus we were left in a difficult country, and

not knowing which way to turn. In addition to this, it rained most heavily. Cortes was out of humour and said, Pedro de Ircio and many more being by, that he wished others besides the settlers of Guacacualco would bestir themselves, and do some good, in searching for guides. De Ircio, Marmolejo a person of quality, and Burgales afterwards regidor of Mexico, each offered their services, and taking six soldiers a piece, were out three days in search of Indians, and all returned without any success, having met with nothing but rivers, and waters, and obstructions. Cortes was in despair at this, and desired Sandoval to apply to me, asking as a favour that I would take the business on me. When addressed in this manner I could not refuse, though very ill; and taking with me two friends, men capable of enduring hunger and thirst, we set out together, and following a stream, the marks of boughs being cut from the trees pointed out a way to some houses, from whence we saw corn fields and houses with people about them. We remained concealed until we supposed the people to be asleep, and then, taking the inhabitants by surprise, made prisoners three men, two Indian girls who were very handsome, and an old woman. They had a few fowls and a little corn. The whole of our capture we brought to our quarters. Sandoval was overjoyed at our arrival; "now," said he to Pedro de Ircio, in the presence of Cortes, "was Del Castillo right when he insisted on having none but active men with him, and not to take people who hobble along, telling their old stories of the adventures that happened to the count De Urena, and his son Don Pedro Giron." These stories De Ircio used to pester us with, over and over again, for which reason all who were present laughed heartily at what was said by Sandoval who knew that De Ircio and I were not friends. Cortes returned me thanks, and paid me many compliments upon my conduct, but I will drop this subject, for what is praise but emptiness and unprofitableness, and what advantage is it to me that people in Mexico should tell what we endured, or

that Cortes should say when he wanted to persuade me to go on this last expedition, that next to God it was me on whom he placed his reliance to procure guides.

From the prisoners whom we had taken we learned, that it was necessary to descend the river for two days journey, to a place of above two hundred houses named Oculiztli; which we accordingly did, passing on our road some large buildings where the travelling merchants of the Indians are used to stop. At the close of the second day we arrived at the place to which we had been directed, where we found plenty of provisions. We also found in one of the temples an old red cap, and a sandal, as offerings to their idols. Some of our soldiers brought to Cortes two old men and four women, whom they took in the maiz fields; Cortes asked them what distance the Spanish settlement was from this place; to which they replied that it was two days journey, being close by the sea side, and that no town intervened. Upon this Cortes ordered Sandoval immediately to set out on foot, with six soldiers, and get down to the coast, in order to ascertain what number of men De Oli had with him, for as yet we were entirely ignorant of all that had happened there, and Cortes required this information in order to effect what he had determined, which was, to fall upon, and surprise De Oli and his troops during the night.

Sandoval taking three guides reached the sea side, and going northwards, soon perceived a canoe, and concealing himself where he expected it to anchor for the night, he was fortunate enough to get possession of it, and upon examination, found it to belong to Indian merchants who were bringing salt to Golfo Dolce. Sandoval embarked on board this canoe with a part of his soldiers, and sending the rest by land, he pursued his route for the great river. As fortune would have it, on his voyage he fell in with a canoe in which had come four Spanish settlers, who were searching for fruit near the mouth of the river, being in great distress from the hostilities of the Indians, and the ravages made by disease.

Two of these being up in a tree, were astonished at the sight of Sandoval and the rest, and reported to their companions what they had seen. When they met, Sandoval was informed by them of their present distress, and how they had hanged the officer left there by Avila. Upon this he determined to bring them to Cortes, which having declared, a soldier named Alonzo Ortiz obtained from him permission to set off with the news, in order to get a reward. He accordingly in a short time reached us, and by his intelligence rejoiced us all. Cortes presented him with an excellent horse named Moor's-head, and each of us gave him something proportionate to our abilities. Sandoval arrived a short time after, and informed us that they were preparing to embark for the Island of Cuba, and how they had hanged their commanding officer, for opposing them and also because he had hanged a turbulent priest: as also that they had elected one Anthonio Niote in his place.

Cortes issued an order to march immediately for the sea coast, which was distant six leagues, and we had an inlet of the sea to pass. We were therefore obliged to wait till low water, and then cross it, wading and swimming. Cortes pushed forwards with his attendants, and crossed the river in the two canoes, swimming the horses by the side of them; but he found it so dangerous from the violence of the current, that he sent word to us not to attempt to follow him until farther orders.

The place where Avila's settlers now were, was about two leagues distant from where Cortes landed. They were greatly surprised at the appearance of Europeans, and more so when they found that it was the general so renowned through all these countries. Cortes received their congratulations in the most gracious manner, and desired them to bring together what canoes they could collect, as also the boats belonging to their ships, and to provide bread for the use of his people. Of this last article only fifty pounds could be procured, for they lived almost entirely on sapotes, vege-

tables, and what fish they caught. We were four days passing the river, with the greatest danger. One soldier with his horse went to the bottom, and never appeared afterwards. Two other horses were also lost; one of them belonged to a soldier named Casquete, who heartily cursed Cortes and his expedition, for the ill fortune he had brought upon him.

The general trusted the care of the embarkation to Sandoval. One Saavedra, presuming upon his relationship with Cortes, would not pay respect to the captain's orders, and endeavouring to force his passage, laid his hand to his poniard with disrespectful expressions to Sandoval. The latter made few words, but seizing him instantly, threw him into the water; where he was nearly drowned. Our suffering at this time from hunger was beyond my expression. For these four days we had literally nothing but the few nuts that we could gather, and some wild fruits; and when we arrived on the other side our condition was not bettered.

We found this colony to consist of forty men and six women, all yellow and sickly, and without any thing to eat. Of course we were anxious for the moment of setting out in order to search the country for provisions. About eighty of us went on foot, under the command of Captain Luis Marin, to a town at the distance of eight leagues, where we found provisions of all kinds, cocoa in the greatest quantity, and plenty of corn, and vegetables. This place was exactly on the route of Naco, whither it was the intention of Cortes to go. On receiving our intelligence, he dispatched Sandoval with the principal part of his troops to join us. We sent a plentiful supply of maiz to our wretched colonists, who having been so long starving, eat to such an excess that seven of them died immediately. At this time also a vessel arrived there, with seven horses, forty hogs, eight pipes of salted meat, biscuit, and fifteen passengers, adventurers from the Island of Cuba. All the provisions Cortes bought immediately, and distributed them amongst the colonists, with an equally fatal result. They eat of the salted meat to such

an excess that it gave them diarrheas, which in a very few days carried off fourteen.

Cortes now determined to examine this great river, for which purpose he fitted out one of the brigantines of Avila which had been stranded, and with this vessel, a boat, and four double canoes, in which he embarked thirty soldiers, with eight sailors of the vessel which lately arrived, he proceeded up the river to a spacious lake with good anchorage, which extended to the distance of six leagues, and the whole of the adjacent country was liable to be inundated. Proceeding higher he found the current more strong, and at length came to some shallows which his vessels could not pass; he accordingly disembarked, and proceeding by a narrow road, passed through different villages. In the first he took some natives to serve as guides, and in the second he found plenty of corn, and fowls, amongst which were pheasants, pidgeons, and partridges. These last I have frequently observed domesticated among the Indians. Pursuing his route, he came near a large town named Cinacan Tencintle, situated amongst fine cocoa plantations, and in which he heard the sound of music, the Indians being engaged in a drunken festival. Cortes waited until a fit opportunity, concealed in a wood, and then suddenly rushing out, made ten men and fifteen women prisoners. The rest attacked him with arrows and darts, but our people closed with them and cut to pieces eight of their chiefs. When the natives found that the affair was going against them they thought it high time to submit; and accordingly four old men, two of whom were priests, came, apparently very much tamed, to petition Cortes for the prisoners, and brought with them a few trifles of gold. Cortes promised to deliver his prisoners on receiving a good supply of provisions which they assured him of, and he pointed out to them where the ships lay. It appears that a misunderstanding afterwards happened between Cortes and the natives, relative to the delivery of his captives, he wishing to retain three women to

make bread. They in consequence proceeded to hostilities again; Cortes received a wound in the face, twelve also of his soldiers were wounded, and a boat destroyed. He then returned after an absence of twenty six days, suffering dreadfully by the mosquitos. He wrote to Sandoval giving him an account of all that had occurred at Cinacan, which is distant from Guatimala seventy leagues, and ordered him to proceed to Naco; Cortes himself intending to establish a settlement at the place which was named Puerto de Cavallos, for which purpose he desired ten of the veterans of Guacacualco without whose assistance nothing was conducted properly.

Cortes taking with him all the Spaniards that remained at St. Gil de Buena Vista, embarked in two ships, and after eight days sail arrived at Puerto de Cavallos, in order to plant a colony there, the situation being answerable, and the harbour good. He appointed Diego de Godoy commandant of this settlement, which he named Natividad. He thought that by this time Sandoval had arrived at Naco which was not far distant, and wrote to him there, desiring ten of the soldiers of Guacacualco to reinforce him, as he intended to proceed to the bay of Honduras. This letter reached us in the quarters which I last mentioned, for we had not arrived at Naco. I will say no more of the proceedings of Cortes, nor how the flies bit him day and night, and prevented his rest, so that as we afterwards heard he had like to have died or lost his senses, from want of sleep.

Sandoval on receiving the general's letter pressed forwards towards Naco, but was obliged to halt at a place called Cuyocan, in order to bring up his stragglers who had quitted him in search of provisions. We had also a river to pass, and the natives all round were hostile. As our line of march was so very long by the number of invalids who came straggling after us, especially of the Mexicans, it became necessary to establish a post at the ferry on this river, for which purpose Sandoval left me with the command of eight men.

One night a body of the natives fell upon us, but we were prepared for them. They set fire to the house in which we were, and thought to have brought off our canoe; but we, with the assistance of a few Mexicans, beat them off for that time, and knowing that there were some invalids lodged upon the road behind us, we on the next day brought them over and all together set out to join Sandoval. One man died upon the road; he was a Genoese, had been some time ill, and at length sunk under poverty of diet. I was obliged to leave the body behind, for which Sandoval blamed me when I made my report. I told him we had two invalids on each horse, and my companion Bartholome de Villa Nueva haughtily said, that it was difficult enough for us to bring ourselves, without carrying dead men. Sandoval immediately ordered me and Villanueva to return and bury him, which we accordingly did, and placed a cross over the grave. We found in his pocket a purse containing a quantity of dice, and a memorandum of his family and effects in Teneriffe. Rest his soul! Amen.

In about two days we arrived at Naco, having passed a place where mines have been since discovered, and also a town named Quinistan. On arriving at Naco we found it to be a good town, but it was abandoned by its inhabitants; however we obtained plenty of provisions and salt which we much wanted. We took our quarters in some very large quadrangles, the same place where De Oli had been executed, and fixed ourselves as if we had been to remain here for ever. In this place is the finest water that we had met with in New Spain, as also a tree, which at the time of the siesta, let the heat of the sun be as great as it will, has a delightful refreshing coolness in its shade, and there seems to descend from it a kind of dew, of the most delicate nature, which is good for the head. The place is well situated, the neighbourhood fertile and producing both the red and the small sapote, and it was at that time populous.

Sandoval having obtained possession of three of the prin-

cipal natives of the district, treated them kindly, and we continued in peaceable terms with them, but the inhabitants could not be induced to return to the town. It was now time to send the reinforcement Cortes had required, of ten Spanish settlers of Guacacualco. I was an invalid and unable to go, and Sandoval wished to keep me with him; eight valiant soldiers were however sent, who set out heartily cursing Cortes and his expedition at every step. They had some reason, for they did not know the least of the state of the country through which they were to go. Sandoval took the precaution of sending five principal persons of the natives with them, and gave it to be understood that if any injury was done to them the country should be severely punished. They arrived at the place where Cortes was, in safety, and he immediately embarked for Truxillo, leaving Godoy in the command at Puerto de Cavallos, with forty Spaniards, which was all that remained of the settlers who came with Avila, and those newly arrived from the Island of Cuba.

For some time Godoy maintained himself in the neighbouring country, but as his men were continually dropping off by disease, the Indians began to despise and neglect them, and in a short time they lost by sickness and famine above half their number, and three of them deserted and joined Sandoval. Such was the result of the colonization of Puerto de Cavallos. Sandoval, by different expeditions to the neighbouring districts, named Cirimongo, Acalaco, Quizmitan, and four others, and by judicious measures, brought the whole of the country to peace and subjection, all around Naco, and as far as Godoy's settlement.

After six days sail Cortes arrived at the port of Truxillo. This place had been colonized by Francisco de las Casas, but there were also amongst them many of the mutineers who had served under De Oli, and who had been banished from Panuco. All these, conscious of their guilt, waited on Cortes upon his arrival, to supplicate his pardon for their offences. This Cortes granted them; he also continued those who had

been appointed to offices, and put at the head of all those provinces as captain general, his relation Saavedra. Cortes having now summoned the chiefs and priests of the Indians, made an harangue to them, wherein he told them of the object of his coming thither, which was, to induce them to quit the unnatural and cruel practices of their false religion, and to embrace the true one. He also dwelt upon the power and dignity of his Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos, to whom he required their submission. This together with the holy exhortations of our reverend fathers being explained to these people they readily promised to obey him, in becoming his Majesty's vassals; whereupon Cortes signified to them, that they should provide the settlement with all articles of food, especially fish, of which there was a great plenty in the sea about the Islands of Los Guanajes, and also he desired them to send labourers to clear the woods in front of the town, and open the view to the sea. All this being readily undertaken by them, Cortes ordered a number of sows in young to be turned out on these islands, to stock them, which they did in the course of a few years. The reverend fathers Franciscans also preached to the Indians many holy things very edifying to hear. The natives applied themselves to labour so earnestly, that in two days they cleared the woods towards the sea, and built fifteen houses one of which was for Cortes, and a very good habitation. The renown of our general made him feared through all these districts, as far as Olancho where are the rich mines; the Indians called him the captain Hue-hue of Marina, that is the old captain who brings Donna Marina, and his presence reduced the whole country to submission, two or three districts in the mountains only holding out. Against these, the names of which were given to him by the chief of Papayeca, then a populous district but now almost uninhabited, he sent Captain Saavedra with a party of soldiers who brought most of them under subjection, the only one that held out being that people named the Acaltecans.

As many of the suite of Cortes began now to fall sick from the effects of the climate, he sent them on board a vessel to St. Domingo or Cuba, and by this opportunity he also sent letters to the reverend fathers of the order of St. Jerome, and the court of royal audience, informing them of all the events that had happened; of his resigning the government of Mexico into the hands of deputies, to proceed against De Oli in person, and also of his future intentions. He requested from them a reinforcement of soldiers, and, to attach credit to his report, he sent a valuable present of gold, taken in reality from his side board, but in such a manner that it should appear to them the produce of this settlement. This business he entrusted to a relation named Avalos, with orders, on his way, to take up twenty five soldiers, who, he had received intelligence, were left in the Island of Cozumel, to kidnap Indians. This vessel was wrecked about seventy leagues from the Havannah; the Captain, Avalos, and many passengers perished, and those few who escaped, amongst whom was the licentiate Pedro Lopez, were the first who brought to the islands intelligence of the existence of Cortes and his army, for it had been hitherto universally believed that we had all perished. As soon as it was known where Cortes then was, two old ships were freighted with horses and colts, and sent out to us. Except these, and one pipe of wine, all the rest of the cargo consisted of shirts, caps, and useless trumpery of various kinds.

Some Indians of the islands called the Guanajes, which are about the distance of eight leagues from Truxillo, came at this time to complain to Cortes, that it had been a practice of the Spaniards to come to their islands, and kidnap the natives and their maceguales, or slaves, and that a vessel was now there, as supposed for that purpose. Cortes on hearing this ordered out one of his ships, which came in view of the vessel, but she immediately hoisted sail, and made her escape. It afterwards appeared that the commander of her was the bachelor Moreno, who had been sent on business to Nombre

de Dios, by the royal court of audience of St. Domingo.

Whilst Sandoval remained at Naco, the chiefs of two districts in that vicinity named Quecuspan, and Tanchinalchapa, came to him to complain of a party of Spaniards who maltreated their people, robbing them, and putting them in chains, and who were now at the distance of about one day's march from his post. He accordingly set out against them with seventy men, and arrived at the place where these people were, perfectly at their ease, and not expecting any attack. They were surprised at seeing us, and ran to their arms; but we soon seized the captain and several more, thus getting the better of them without any blood being drawn on either side. Sandoval censured them in very strong terms for their misconduct, and ordered those Indians whom they had made prisoners to be immediately released. The captain of this party was one Pedro de Garro; he and his men were marched prisoners to our settlement. From the manner in which they were mounted and attended, they seemed to be lords, in comparison of us who were dirty and worn down with service. Several of them were persons of quality or gentlemen, and after they had reposed a day amongst us they grew perfectly contented.

The reason of their being in these countries is as follows. Pedro Arias de Avila, who had the government of Tierra Firma, sent a captain named Francisco Hernandez to make conquests in the province of Nicaragua and Leon. This he did, reducing the natives to obedience, and establishing a colony there. When Hernandez found himself advantageously settled, he determined to throw off his dependency upon Pedro Arias, to which I believe he was incited by the bachelor Moreno, and the reason of it to the best of my judgment was this. Arias had beheaded V. N. de Balboa, who married his daughter Donna Isabella Arias de Penosa. This atrocious stretch of power he committed most unwarrantably, and it was on this occasion that the bachelor Moreno had been sent hither by the royal court of audience. The

bachelor meeting with Hernandez, advised him to renounce his connexion with Pedro Arias, who had conducted himself so badly, and to establish a distinct government in that province, immediately under his Majesty; and Hernandez taking his counsel, sent this party to make their way to the north coast, thereby to open a communication with the mother country.

All this being explained to Sandoval, was by him communicated to Cortes, in expectation of his supporting the views of Hernandez, by Captain Luis Marin, whom I attended upon this occasion. Our whole party consisted of ten soldiers, and a most desperate journey it was, the Indians were hostile and attacked us with large heavy lances, wounding two of our soldiers. The rivers which we crossed were swollen and rapid, and so frequent, that in one day we passed three of them; one river named Xagua, ten leagues from Triumpho de la Cruz, detained us for two days, and the inlets and lagoons were infested by alligators. By the side of the river Xagua we found the skeletons of seven horses; they had belonged to De Oli's troops, and died from eating poisonous herbs. Passing El Triumpho de la Cruz, and a place named Quemara, at length we arrived in the neighbourhood of Truxillo about the hour of vespers, and saw five cavaliers riding along the coast. These were, Cortes and four of his friends, who were taking exercise. When he recognised us, after the first surprise at the unexpected meeting, he dismounted from his horse, and running up, embraced us all with tears in his eyes, so overjoyed was he to see us. It made me melancholy to find him so weak and reduced. Distress and disease had worn him down; indeed he expected death, and had gotten a Franciscan habit made to be buried in. He had not at this time received any intelligence from Mexico since he quitted that city. He walked into the town with us, and we supped with him, wretchedly enough. I had not my fill even of bread or biscuit. When he had read over the letters relative to the business of Her-

nandez, he promised that he would do all he could to support him. The vessels from St. Domingo had arrived here three days before us. I have already mentioned, that except the horses and one pipe of wine, their cargoes were nothing but frippery; it would have been much better that they had not come, since it induced us all to run ourselves in debt buying their useless trash.

While we were relating to Cortes the hardships we had sustained during our late journey, a ship was descried at a distance, making for our port. This vessel sailed from the Havannah, with letters for the general from the licentiate Zuazo, alcalde major of Mexico. The hidalgo who was captain of the vessel came directly to kiss the hands of Cortes, and presented his letters, the substance of which the reader shall be informed of. As soon as Cortes read them he was overwhelmed with sorrow and distress. He retired to his private apartment, where we could hear that he was suffering under the greatest agitation. He did not stir out for an entire day; at night he confessed and ordered a mass for the ensuing morning, after which he called us together, and read to us the intelligence he had received, and whereby we learned, that it had been universally reported and believed in New Spain that we were all dead, and our properties had in consequence been sold by public auction. From his father in Castille he was informed, of the death of the Bishop of Burgos, that Albornoz had been laboriously undermining us at court, and also of what I have before related, in regard to his Majesty's orders to the admiral, and the interference of the duke of Bejar; also that Narvaez had been appointed to the government of the river Palmas, and that the government of Panuco had been given to one Nuno de Guzman.

In regard to the affairs of New Spain these letters further added, that in consequence of the powers which Cortes had given to the factor Gonzalo de Salazar, and the veedor Pedro Almindes Chirinos, to supercede the deputies he had

left in Mexico, viz. the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the contador Albornoz, and to take the administration upon themselves in case of misconduct on the part of the deputies, these two officers having on their return to Mexico formed a strong party, amongst whom was the licentiate Zuazo alcalde major, Rodrigo de Paz alguazil major, A. de Tapia, Jorge de Alvarado, and the rest of the ancient conquerors, attempted to take the government into their hands by main force, and the consequence of the struggle of the two parties was, much disturbance, and bloodshed. The factor and veedor however carried their point, and had made prisoners the two former deputies and many of their friends. Still however there was fighting every day, the predominating party confiscating the property of their opponents, to distribute it among their own adherents. They had, we learned, completely superceded Zuazo in his office, and had imprisoned Rodrigo de Paz the alguazil major, but that the licentiate Zuazo had effected a temporary reconciliation between the parties. During these disturbances, three districts, viz. the Zapotecans, Minxes, and those in the vicinity of a fortified rock named Coatlan had rebelled, and a force going against them under the veedor Chirinos, instead of attending to their business, the troops thought of nothing but card playing, in consequence of which the natives surprised them in their camp, and did them much mischief. The factor had then sent a veteran captain named Andrez de Monjaraz, to assist the veedor, and advise him; but this officer was unable to exert himself properly, being an invalid. As to the city of Mexico, there was danger every hour of an insurrection.

The letters also informed us that the factor constantly remitted gold to his Majesty's treasurer, Don Francisco de los Cobos, to make an interest for himself at court, reporting that we were all dead at Xicalonga, the belief of which was corroborated by Diego de Ordas who, to get out of the factions and troubles of Mexico had sailed with two vessels to

search for us, and arriving at the place called Xicalonga, where the captains Simon de Cuenca and Francisco de Medina had been killed, hearing the account of their misfortunes, and not knowing the particulars, had taken it for granted that it could be no others than Cortes and his party who were thus destroyed, and reported so in his letters to Mexico which he sent by certain passengers, and then, without landing, hoisted sail for Cuba. The factor shewed his letter to our relations, and put on mourning; and a monument was erected, and funeral service performed for the honour of Cortes, in the great church of Mexico. The factor then proclaimed himself governor, and captain general of New Spain, with the sound of kettle drums and trumpets, and issued out an order, that all women who had any regard for their souls, and whose husbands had gone with Cortes, should consider them dead in law, and marry again forthwith. And because a woman named Juana de Mansilla did not chuse to take his advice, but insisted on waiting the return of her husband Alonzo Valiente, saying that we were not people who would let ourselves be so easily beaten as the veedor Chirinos and his party, the factor ordered her to be publicly whipped through the streets of Mexico for a witch.

As there are in all places flattering traitors, one of this description, whom we once expected better from, and whose name I will not mention, solemnly assured the factor, before many witnesses, that going one night by the church of St. Jago, which is built on the scite of the great temple of the Mexicans, and looking into the church yard, he saw the souls of Cortes, Donna Marina, and Sandoval, burning in flames of fire; and that he had been so terrified thereat, as to have remained ill ever since. Another man of good reputation also came to the factor, and told him that the quadrangles of Tescuco were haunted by evil spirits, which the natives said were the souls of Donna Marina and Cortes. All those falsehoods they invented to ingratiate themselves with the factor.

At this time arrived in Mexico the captains Francisco de las Casas, and Gil Gonzales de Avila, the same who beheaded Christoval de Oli. Las Casas on his arrival publicly asserted the existence of Cortes, and reprobated the conduct of the factor, but declared that should it be the case, as then believed, that we were all dead, Alvarado was the only proper man to put in the place of Cortes, until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known. Alvarado being written to on the subject set out for Mexico, but growing apprehensive of some attempt upon his life, he thought it most prudent to return to his district. The factor had at this time collected what gold he could lay his hands upon, to support his negotiations at court. In this he was opposed by almost every other officer of the government of New Spain, who determined among themselves, not to permit him exclusively to make representations of the transactions there, but to send likewise their own statements at the same time, and by the same opportunity with his. When the factor found that he could not bring over Las Casas, Gonzalez de Avila, and the licentiate, to support his views, he caused the two former to be arrested and prosecuted for the alleged murder of De Oli; and by his wickedness, and the preponderance of his power, procuring their condemnation, it was with the greatest difficulty that their immediate execution could be prevented, by appealing to his Majesty. He was obliged however to content himself with sending them prisoners to Castille. He then fell upon the licentiate Zuazo, and sent him off to Vera Cruz, and there embarked him for the Island of Cuba, as was alleged, to answer for his conduct while he was judge there. He next seized Rodrigo de Paz, and demanded of him an account and surrender of the treasure of Cortes, whose major domo he had been, and because he could not, or would not declare, or make discovery concerning it, he caused his feet and part of his legs to be burnt; and not content with giving him the torture, and knowing also that if left alive he might complain to his

Majesty, he ordered him to be hanged, which was accordingly done. He also arrested most of the friends of Cortes. Tapia and Jorge de Alvarado, however, took sanctuary with the Franciscan fathers; but several of them went over to him, partly because he gave them Indians, and partly because it is natural to wish to be with the strongest power, or, as the saying is, to cry, "success to the conquerors." He emptied the arsenal of arms, and brought them to his palace, in the front of which he also planted all the artillery, which was commanded by Captain Don Luis de Guzman, son in law to the Duke of Medina Sidonia. He next formed a body guard for his own protection, composed in part of the soldiers of Cortes, to the command of which he appointed one Artiaga.

Zuazo also wrote to Cortes to inform him, that he had reported many scandals of him to his Majesty, such as defrauding him of the duty upon gold; and as an instance to what extent he carried his tyranny, he mentioned a circumstance of a travelling Spaniard having informed a woman, and given her proofs, that her husband who was gone with Cortes was alive. This coming to the ears of the factor, he caused him to be seized by four alguazils, and would have hanged him, but that he, to excuse himself, declared that what he had said was all a falsehood, and that he had only invented it to comfort the poor woman, seeing her weeping for the loss of her husband. The business which brought this man to Mexico was, to obtain a plantation, this was immediately settled to his satisfaction, and he was dismissed with a hint to hold his tongue, as he valued his life. This letter also informed Cortes of the death of the reverend father Bartholome, a holy man, and much regretted by all the natives of Mexico, who in token of their respect fasted from the time of his death, until he was buried. Zuazo concluded by saying, that he feared Mexico was lost, and that he had been sent a prisoner in irons to the place from whence he dated his letter.

This intelligence made us all very sad. It was difficult to say which of the two, Cortes or the factor, we cursed most heartily in our own minds. We secretly gave them ten thousand maledictions, and our hearts sunk within us. Cortes retired to his chamber, and did not appear to us till evening, when we entreated him immediately to hasten to Mexico. He replied to us kindly and gently, saying, "dear friends and companions, this villain of a factor is powerful. If I go and you accompany me he may lay hands upon us by the road, and murder us all. It were better that I went privately with three or four of you, and came to Mexico before he was prepared. Let the rest rejoin Sandoval, and proceed with him to Mexico." Cortes now wrote to Captain Hernandez, promising him every support; he sent him also two mules loaded with presents of such things as he knew he wanted, entrusting them to the care of a gentleman named Cabrera, a brave officer who was on the staff under Blasco Nunez Velo, and was killed in the same battle with the Viceroy. When I saw that Cortes was determined to go to Mexico, I requested of him that he would permit me, who had been in all difficulties and dangers by his side, to attend him upon this occasion. He embraced me and said, "I request you my son to remain with Sandoval. I promise you, and I swear by this beard, that I consider myself much beholden to you, and have long done so." However he would not permit me to attend him.

I remember when we were in the town of Truxillo, a gentleman named Roderigo Manueca, a principal officer in the general's household, to divert Cortes, seeing him distressed, as he was with good reason, laid a wager with some other cavaliers, that he would climb in his armour to the top of the rock, whereon stood the house which the Indians had built for the head quarters. When he had got a considerable way up he missed his hold, and falling to the ground, was killed. Some of the settlers of this place now began to grow mutinous, on finding that Cortes had omitted to name them to any office. He however found the means to pacify

them, by promises not to forget them on his arrival at Mexico. Previous to his departure, he ordered Captain Diego de Godoy with his settlers to quit the colony of Puerto de Cavallos, where it was impossible for them to keep their ground, on account of fleas, musquitos, and other vermin, and to relieve us at the good settlement of Naco. He also ordered us to take the province of Nicaragua in our way to Mexico, as the government of it was an object worth applying for. Accordingly we took our leave of Cortes who was embarked, and set out chearfully upon our journey as Mexico was to be the end of it. It was as usual attended with extreme distress. However we reached Naco, and found that Captain De Garro had before our arrival gone for Nicaragua, to acquaint his chief, Hernandez, of the promise which Cortes had made, and we set out on the ensuing day for Mexico.

Two confidential friends of the governor Arias de Avila, having gotten the knowledge that a private correspondence was going on between Hernandez and Cortes, began to suspect the view of the former to surrender his province, and detach himself from Avila. These soldiers were named Garruito and Zamorrano. The former was urged on particularly by an old enmity to Cortes, on account of a rivalship about a lady in St. Domingo when they were both youths, and which had ended in a duel. These persons informed Avila of the whole that they knew, and he, immediately on receipt of the intelligence, hastened off to seize the parties concerned. Garro, alarmed in time, made his escape to us; but Hernandez, relying upon their former intimacy and friendship, thought that Avila would not proceed to extremities, and did not attempt to avoid him. He was however sadly undeceived, for after a very summary process he was executed as a traitor to his superior officer, in the town which he was colonizing, and thus ended the negotiation between him and Cortes.

The first time that Cortes sailed from Truxillo for Vera

Cruz, he was obliged to put back by contrary winds, the second time from an accident which happened to the vessel. He was dispirited by sickness, the voyage also added to his mental depression, and he was apprehensive of the power of the factor. On his return he ordered a solemn mass, and prayed fervently to the holy Ghost to enlighten him as to his future proceedings. It appears that he became inspired with an inclination to stay and colonize the country where he then was; for he sent three expresses as hard as they could post to recall us, and bring us back to Truxillo. In his letters he expressed his determination, which he attributed to the inspiration of his guardian angel. When we received this message we bestowed a thousand maledictions on Cortes and the ill fortune which attended him, and told Sandoval, that if he chose to remain it must be by himself, for that we were determined to proceed to Mexico. Sandoval was also of our opinion; we therefore returned an answer to this effect, signed by us all, and in a few days received another letter from him, which contained great offers to such as should be induced to remain, and concluded by saying, that if we refused, there still remained soldiers in Castille and elsewhere. On receiving this letter we were if possible more determined than ever to proceed, but Sandoval earnestly entreated, and persuaded us to halt for a few days, until he could see Cortes, in the hope of persuading him to undertake the journey to Mexico. We wrote back in reply, that as he said he could find soldiers in Castille, so could we governors and generals in Mexico, who would give us plantations for our services, and that we had suffered misfortunes enough already by him. With this answer Sandoval set off, attended by a soldier named Sauzedo, and a farrier, and mounted on his good horse Motilla, swearing by his beard that he would not return until he had put Cortes on board the ship for Mexico.

Now I mention Sandoval's horse, I must observe of him, that he was the swiftest, and the best dressed, and finest figure of any horse in New Spain: he was of a dark chesnut

colour, and such was the fame of Motilla, that it reached the ear of his Majesty, to whom Sandoval intended to present him. Sandoval applied to me at this time for my horse, an excellent animal for career, exercise, or road. He cost me six hundred crowns to one Avalos brother to Saavedra, my former one, which had cost me a greater sum, being killed in an action at a place called Zulaco. However Sandoval exchanged with me one of his, which was killed under me in less than two months; after which I remained with nothing better than a vicious colt, which I bought a bad bargain of from amongst those brought to Truxillo in the two vessels, as I have before related. Sandoval at parting from us desired us to wait his return at a large Indian town named Acalteca. When he reached Truxillo, his friend Cortes was rejoiced to see him, but neither our letter, nor the pressing instances of Sandoval, nor of the reverend father Varillas, could induce him to surmount his aversion to proceed to Mexico.

When Sandoval found it impossible to induce Cortes to go to Mexico, he prevailed upon him to send a confidential servant named Martin de Orantes, with a commission to Pedro de Alvarado, and Francisco de las Casas, to take upon them the government during his absence, in case those officers were in Mexico, and should they not be found there, the same power was to be exercised by the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the contador Albornoz, comformably to the deputation given by Cortes to them, previous to his departure from Mexico, those delegated to the factor and veedor being revoked. Cortes having agreed to this, and given his orders and instructions, directed Orantes to land in a bay between Vera Cruz and Panuco, and to suffer no one to go on shore but himself; and the vessel was immediately to hoist sail, and proceed for Panuco. These last instructions were given, that the arrival of his officer should be kept as private as possible until the proper time. He also sent letters by him to all his friends in New Spain, and to the treasurer and con-

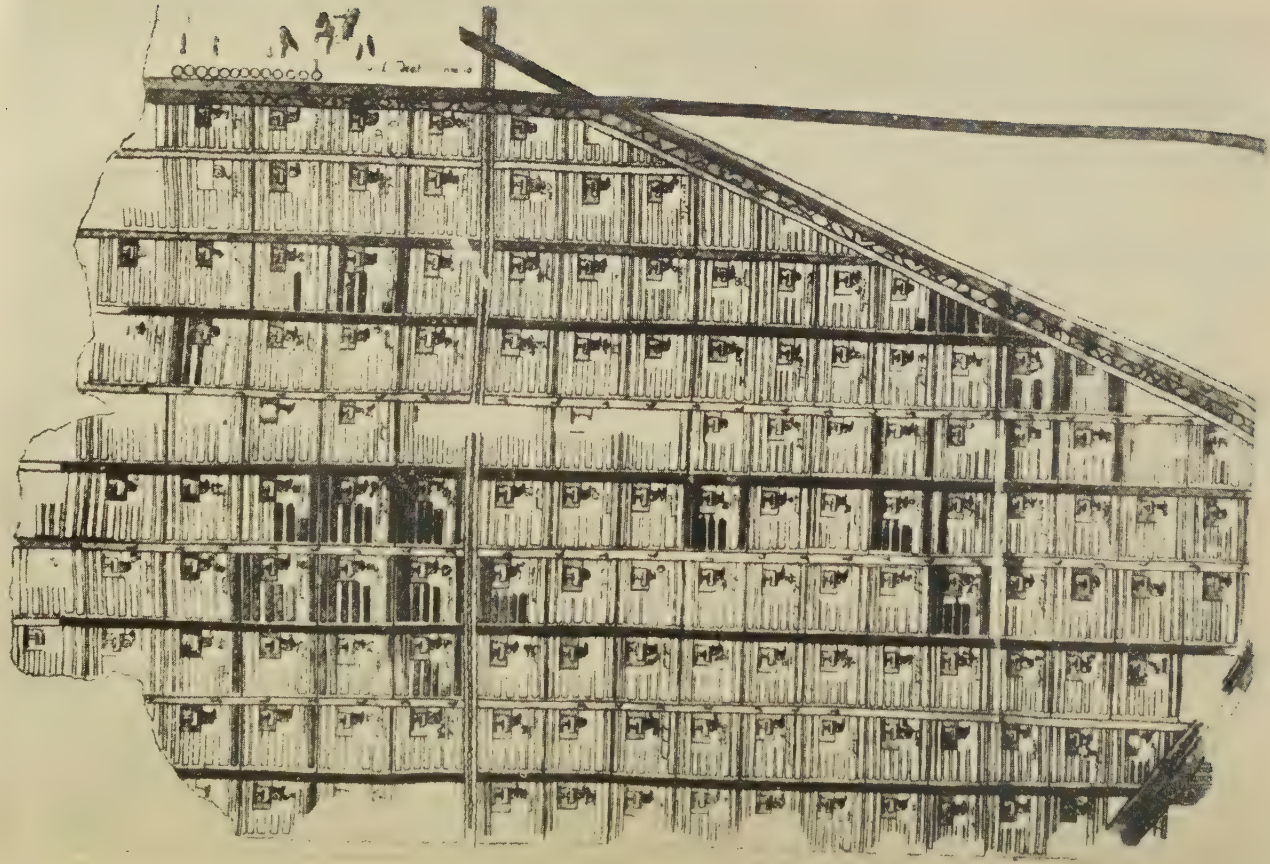
tador, although he knew them in reality not to belong to the number.

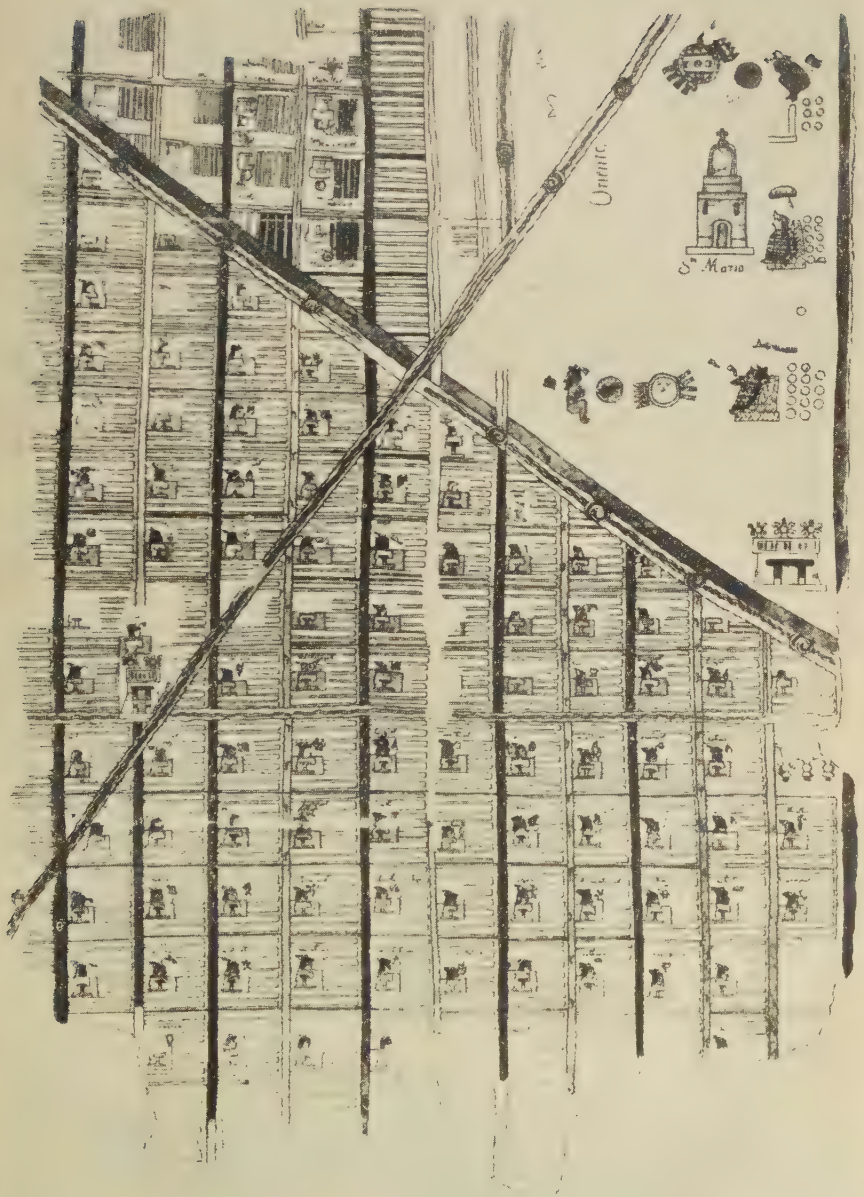
The wind and weather being favourable, in a few days the vessel arrived at its destination, and Orantes on landing disguised himself as a labourer. On his journey he avoided the Spaniards, lodging and mixing only with the natives. Those who had known him before could not have recognized him, after an absence of two years and three months. To such as questioned him he said, that his name was Juan de Flechilla; in this manner, being an active man, he arrived in four days at Mexico, and entering the city after dark, he proceeded directly to the lodgings of the reverend fathers Franciscans. On being admitted, he there found the Alvarados and several of the friends of Cortes, concealed. When he had explained who he was, and produced the general's letters, all present, the reverend fathers not excepted, danced for joy; they immediately locked the gates of the monastery, to exclude the observation of the traitorous party, and at midnight the intelligence was communicated to the treasurer, the contador, and many of the friends of Cortes, who immediately assembled at the Franciscans.

It was then determined by them, as the first step, to seize on the person of the factor in the morning. All the intermediate time was employed in collecting arms and friends, and making other preparations for the purpose. The veedor was at that period at the rock of Coatlan. At day break the whole party marched to the palace inhabited by the factor, crying, "long live his Majesty, and Hernando Cortes." When this was heard by the citizens, they all took to their arms, thinking it something wherein government called for their assistance, and numbers under that idea joined the treasurer on his march. As to the contador, he played a double part, giving intelligence to the factor to put him on his guard, and Estrada reproached him strongly for his conduct.

When the party of Cortes approached the residence of the factor, they found that he was already well prepared, owing to the information that he had received. His artillery under Don Luis de Guzman was planted in front of the house, and he had a strong garrison within side. Those with the treasurer forcing their way in, some by the different doors, others by the terraces and wherever they could get access, all at the same time, and shouting for his Majesty and Cortes, the adherents of the factor became dismayed, and the artillery-men abandoning the guns, the other soldiers also made off and hid themselves; one of them, Gines Nortes, leaping down from a corredor, so that there only remained with the factor, Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote, and four servants. When he found himself thus abandoned, he became desperate, and endeavoured himself to fire off the guns, in which attempt he was seized, and made prisoner. A large cage of timber was constructed to receive him, and thus terminated his career as governor of New Spain. Circular notice was sent to all the provinces of this revolution, by which each individual was pleased or dissatisfied as his particular interest swayed him. When the veedor heard it he was so distressed that he fell sick. He left his command with Captain De Monjaraz, and got himself conveyed towards Mexico, and reaching the monastery of St. Francis in Tezcuco, he there shut himself up, and was shortly after made prisoner and secured in another wooden cage.

Immediate intelligence of all that had happened was forwarded to Pedro de Alvarado, with directions to him to proceed to Truxillo, and wait upon Cortes. The next thing that the new deputies did was, to pay their respects to Juanna de Mansilla, the woman who had been whipped for a witch. The treasurer placed her on horseback behind him, and thus, attended by all the cavaliers in procession, she was paraded through the streets of Mexico like a Roman matron, and was ever after called Donna Juanna, in honour of her constancy, in refusing to comply with the orders of the factor, to marry





PORTIONS OF AN AZTEC PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF MEXICO.

again, while she was convinced that her husband was living.

The situation of Mexico evidently requiring the presence of Cortes, Fray Diego de Altamirano was pitched on by his friends to wait upon him, and represent to him the necessity of his immediately setting out. This father had been in the military profession before he entered the church, and was a man of business and abilities. The conduct pursued by the the veedor and factor, and especially their confiscations and distribution of property among their greedy supporters, had gained them many adherents, and, if not friends, at least persons interested in the maintenance of their government. These, composed principally of the low and seditious description, but mixed with some of quality, with the support and contrivance of the contador who dreaded the arrival of Cortes, had formed a plan to kill the treasurer, and reinstate the factor and veedor in their offices. For the purpose of releasing them from prison, they had recourse to one Guzman, a white-smith; a fellow of low character, and a ridiculous affecter of wit. To him they applied to make the keys, giving him a piece of gold whereon was marked the form in which they were to be wrought, and charging him at the same time to keep the strictest secrecy. All this he readily undertook and promised, speaking as if he had the liberation of the prisoners sincerely at heart. They then told him all the particulars which his inquisitiveness induced him to question them about, and he proceeded in his work, but slowly and aukwardly, in order to induce them to repeat their visits, to hurry him on; and he thus obtained from the conspirators the knowledge that he required. The keys being finished, and the party ready to make the attempt, he suddenly went to the house of the treasurer, and gave him an account of the whole. The treasurer, assembling the friends of Cortes on the instant, proceeded to the place of meeting, where he found twenty conspirators armed, and in waiting for the signal. These he seized, but many others made their escape. Among these apprehended were some notorious characters;

one of them had lately committed violence on a Castillian woman. They were tried before the bachelor Ortega alcade major, and being convicted, three were hanged, and several whipped.

I must now make a considerable digression from my narrative, though it comes in properly in point of matter, to mention how the same vessel which conveyed the letters transmitted by the factor to his Majesty in Castille, conveyed others, so artfully concealed that he had no suspicion of them, wherein was given a full and true account of all his oppressions, and unlawful proceedings. These facts had also been already reported by the courts of St. Domingo, which contradicted the accounts of the death of Cortes, and informed his Majesty how that officer was employed for his service. The Emperor is reported to have declared his indignation at the manner in which Cortes had been treated, and his determination to support him.

When Fra Altamirano arrived at Truxillo, and explained his business to Cortes, the latter returned thanks to heaven for having granted peace to that country. He also declared his intention of going thither, but that it must be by land, on account of the contrariety of the currents and his own bad state of health. The pilots however represented to him that the season was favourable, it being then the month of April, and prevailed upon him to give up his first determination, but still he could not leave that place until the return of Sandoval, whom he had detached against a Captain Roxas, who served under Arias, and against whom complaints had been lodged by the natives of a district named Olancho, which was distant about fifty five leagues from Truxillo. Sandoval had been detached thither with seventy soldiers; at first the two parties were upon the brink of hostilities, but became afterwards reconciled and parted amicably, Roxas and his soldiers quitting that country.

Sandoval was immediately recalled in consequence of the message brought by Altamirano. The general appointed

Captain Saavedra his lieutenant in that province, and wrote at the same time to Captain Luis Marin, to march our whole party by the road of Guatimala, and Captain Godoy he ordered to Naco. These letters Saavedra maliciously suppressed, for they never came to our hands. Cortes previous to his embarkation confessed to Fra Juan and received the sacrament, for he was so ill that he thought himself at the point of death. The wind favouring his voyage to the Havannah, he soon arrived there, and was joyfully received by his former friends and acquaintances; and a vessel from New Spain which arrived about the same time, brought intelligence that the country was at peace, for that the Indians hearing that Cortes, and we his conquerors were yet living, had come in and submitted.

Chapter viii.

Return of Cortes to Mexico; occurrences there. Return of the author to Mexico.

After five days refreshment at the Havannah, Cortes embarked, and in twelve days arrived at the Port of Medellin, opposite to the Island De los Sacrificios, where he disembarked with twenty soldiers, and proceeding to the town of San Juan de Ulua, which was distant about half a league, it was his fortune to light upon a string of horses and mules which had conveyed travellers to the coast, and which he engaged to take him to Vera Cruz. He ordered those about him to give no hint to any one, who he was, and two hours before day break arriving at the town, he went directly to the church the doors of which were just opened. When the sacristan saw the church filled with people whom he did not know, he became alarmed and ran into the street, calling to the civil power to assist him. The alcaldes, three alguazils and some of the neighbours came with arms in consequence of the noise. Cortes was squalid, and the white habit of the reverend father was dirty from the sea voyage, nor did any one recollect them until Cortes began to speak; but as soon as he was recognized by them, they all fell upon their knees, kissed his hands, and bid him and his attendants welcome. All his old fellow soldiers assembled around him, and after mass, escorted him to the quarters of Pedro Moreno Medrano, where he remained for eight days, during which time he was feasted and entertained by the inhabitants. Intelligence was also sent to Mexico to give the people there the joyful tidings, and Cortes wrote to his friends to the same effect. The Indians of the neighbourhood brought him abundant presents, and when he set out for the city of

Mexico every preparation was made for his accommodation. The inhabitants of Mexico, and of all the places round the lake celebrated his return with festivals, and those of Tlascala did the same.

When he arrived at Tescuco, where the contador came to wait upon him, he thought it proper to remain there for that night, and on the next morning but one he entered the city, being met by all the officers, cavaliers, and other inhabitants, in great state. The natives in their best dresses, and armed as warriors, filled the lake with their canoes; the dancing continued in every street during the day, and at night the city was illuminated with lights at every door. Immediately on his arrival he went to the monastery of St. Francisco, to return thanks to God for all his mercies to him. From that he went to his magnificent palace, where he was served and esteemed, and feared, as a sovereign prince, all the provinces making their submissions, and sending presents and congratulations to him. The entry of Cortes into Mexico was in the month of June. He immediately ordered the arrest of those who had been most eminent for sedition, and faction, and caused an enquiry to be instituted into the conduct of the two great culprits. He also arrested one Ocampo, who had been concerned in defamatory libels, and a person of the name of Ocana a scrivener. This man who was very old was called the body and soul of the factor. He now intended to proceed immediately to bring the veedor and factor to justice for their crimes, and if he had done so no one could have said against it, and it would have met his Majesty's approbation. This I heard said by some members of the royal council of the Indies, the Bishop de las Casas being present, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty, when I was attending on my own affairs; but in this instance Cortes may be justly taxed with feebleness of conduct.

The reader has already been informed of the charges brought against Cortes in Castille, and of the orders issued to the admiral of St. Domingo, of the interposition of the

Duke of Bejar, and the appointment of Luis Ponce de Leon. The licentiate at this period of which I am writing, had arrived at Medellin. The suddenness of his coming rather surprised Cortes, who when he received the intelligence, was performing his devotions in the church of St. Francis. He earnestly prayed to the Lord to guide him as seemed best to his holy wisdom, and on coming out of the church sent an express to bring him information of all particulars. In two days after, the licentiate sent him his Majesty's orders to receive him as resident judge in Mexico, and Cortes in consequence thereof dispatched a person with a message of compliment, and desiring to know which of the two roads to the city he intended to take, that he might make such preparations as were proper for the reception of a person of his rank. The licentiate sent him back an answer, thanking him for his polite offers, and declaring his intention to repose after the fatigues of his voyage for a little time, where he was. This interval was busily employed by the enemies of Cortes, who represented to the licentiate that it was his determination to put the factor and veedor to death, before his arrival, and that it was necessary for him to take good care as to his own person, for as to all these civilities of Cortes, they were only intended, by ascertaining the road that he intended to take, under the colour of preparation to do him honour, the more effectually to succeed in his intention to assassinate him. They also misrepresented every transaction in which Cortes had been concerned.

The persons whom the licentiate principally consulted were the alcalde major Proano, a native of Cordova, and his brother the alcalde of the citadel, named Salazar de la Pedrada, who shortly after his arrival died of a pleurisy, Marcos de Aguilar a licentiate or bachelor, a soldier named Bocanegra de Cordova, and certain fathers of the order of St. Domingo, the provincial of whom was one Fray Thomas Ortiz. He had been a prior some where that I do not now

recollect, and all those who came with him described him to be a man more fit for worldly affairs than those which particularly concerned his holy office. With these persons the licentiate consulted as to his proceeding to Mexico, which they all were of opinion should not be delayed an instant. Accordingly, the last messengers dispatched by Cortes met him on the road at Iztapalapa. A sumptuous banquet was here prepared for them, at which, after several abundant and magnificent services, some cheesecakes and custards were placed upon the table, as great delicacies. They were so much approved of, and some of the company eat of them in such quantities, that they made them sick; but those who eat of them in moderation were not at all affected. However this prior, Fray Thomas Ortiz, asserted that they had been poisoned with arsenic, and that he had not eaten of them from a suspicion that they were so; but others who were present declared, that he stuffed himself heartily with them, and said that they were the best he had ever tasted. This new charge was immediately seized on and circulated by the enemies of Cortes, to throw an odium upon him.

During this time Cortes remained in Mexico; report said that he had sent a good present of gold to the licentiate; this I cannot warrant; but as he had persons stationed to bring him intelligence, on his quitting Iztapalapa Cortes set out to meet him, with a grand and numerous retinue of all the officers and gentlemen of the city. When the two parties met, many civilities passed between the great men; the licentiate seemed to me to be well acquainted with the rules of politeness. It was with great difficulty that Cortes could prevail upon him to take the right hand. On his entry into the city he proceeded to the monastery of St. Francisco, business being deferred till the ensuing day. Cortes attended the licentiate to the palace prepared for him, where he entertained him most sumptuously, but his politeness and grandeur of manner was more striking than all the rest, in-

somuch that the licentiate observed privately to his friends, that Cortes must have been for a long time past exercising himself in the manners of a great man.

On the ensuing day, the council of Mexico, and all the civil and military officers, and the veteran soldiers, were assembled by order; and in their presence the licentiate Ponce de Leon produced his authority from his Majesty, which Cortes having kissed, and placed upon his head in token of submission, they all declared our obedience to, as in duty bound. The licentiate then received and returned back the rod of justice, in token of the surrender of the government into his hands, saying to Cortes, "General, this government I receive from you by his Majesty's orders, wherein however it is by no means implied that you are not most worthy of this, or higher trusts." To which the general replied, that he was always happy in obeying his Majesty's commands, and that it was also a satisfaction to him, that he would be thereby enabled to prove the falsehood and malice of his enemies. The licentiate in answer said, that where were good men, there were also bad, and such was the world; but that to each would be repaid in kind. This was all the material business of the day. On the next, Cortes attended the summon of the new governor, who sent it with much respect, and they had a conference, at which no one was present except the prior Thomas Ortiz; but it is said and believed that the licentiate addressed Cortes to the following effect. He first observed that it had been his Majesty's intention, that those who had most merit in the conquest of this country, should be well provided for in the distribution of plantations, considering more especially the soldiers who first came thither from Cuba; and that it had been understood, that this was not the case, for that they had been neglected, while others newly arrived had wealth heaped upon them, without any just pretensions. Cortes, to this, replied, that all had got shares, but that some of these it was true turned out much inferior to others; however it was in his power as

governor now to rectify that. The governor then asked him how it happened that he had left Luis de Godoy to perish for want in a distant settlement, when the veterans ought to have been suffered to remain and enjoy the comforts of established possessions in Mexico, and the new colonizations have been assigned to new comers. He also enquired how Captain Luis Marin, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and the others of his approved soldiers had been taken care of. Cortes replied, that for business of danger it was useless to employ any but his veterans; but that they would soon he expected return to Mexico, being then upon their road thither. The governor next asked him, rather sharply, about his imprudent march against Christoval de Oli, undertaken without his Majesty's orders or permission. To which Cortes answered, that he considered it to be necessary for his Majesty's service, as the dangerous effects of such example among officers intrusted with separate commands might be very extensive, and that he had, previous to setting out, reported to his Majesty his intention so to do. He then questioned Cortes as to the affairs of Narvaez, Garay, and Tapia, to all which Cortes gave such satisfactory answers that the governor seemed to be well contented therewith.

After Cortes had retired, Fray Thomas Ortiz called on three persons intimate friends of the general, and with great earnestness told them the same which he on the ensuing morning told to Cortes himself; for coming to him at that time, and desiring to speak to him in private, he then assured him, with many protestations of friendship, and wishes to serve him, that the governor had secret orders from his Majesty, immediately to behead him, and that he had thought it proper, in conformity with the duty of his sacred function, as well as from his private regard, to give him early intelligence. This friendly communication it may be supposed gave Cortes a good deal to reflect upon; he had been informed of the intriguing and simulating character of the friar, and was induced to think that this might be done to

induce him to give a bribe for his intercession. Others said afterwards that Ortiz acted by the directions of the governor. Cortes, however, received his pretended friendly information with many thanks, declaring his hopes that his Majesty had a different opinion of his services, than to proceed against him in that manner, and that he had too high an opinion of the governor, to suppose he would do any thing without warrant. When the friar found that his tricks were not attended by the effect that he had flattered himself with, he remained much confused, and did not know what to say.

The new governor issued public notice, that all who had complaints to make against the former administration of the country, should bring them forward, whether they were concerning Cortes, the civil, or the military officers. In consequence of this a host of accusers, litigants, and claimants, started up. All the general's private enemies brought accusations against him; others who had really justice on their side laid claim to what was due to them. Some alledged that they had not received their proper shares of gold, others that they had not been sufficiently rewarded, and others demanded remuneration for their horses killed in the wars, although they had gotten ten times the value in gold; and some demanded satisfaction for personal injuries. Just at the period when the governor had opened his court to give a hearing to all the parties, it was God's will, and for our sins and misfortunes, that he should be taken suddenly ill of a fever, and a lethargy coming on him he remained in that state four days. His three physicians then advised him to confess and receive the sacrament, which he did with great devotion, and appointed as his successor in the government, Marcos de Aguilar who had come with him from Castille. Some said that the latter was only a bachelor and not a licentiate, and therefore incapable of acting; however the governor left him orders not to proceed further with the business of the court, but that all should be laid before his Majesty. On the ninth day from the time he was taken ill,

the governor gave up his breath to our Lord. The whole city went into mourning on the occasion. The military deplored his loss with particular reason, for he certainly intended to redress all abuses, and to reward us according to our merits.

I heard an anecdote of him, at the time of his death, and it was this. He was of a gay disposition and fond of music; to divert his lethargy, his attendants brought a lute, and played upon it in his apartment; and they said that while they played him a favourite air, he beat time to it, and just as it was finished he expired. What malignities and slanders were now circulated against Cortes, by his enemies in Mexico! they said that he and Sandoval had poisoned the governor, as he had before done Garay. The most busy in this malicious affair was the friar Ortiz. It appeared as if the vessel which brought them had been infected with the disease of which the governor died; above a hundred of those who came in it having died at sea or after landing. All the friars except a very few were swept off, and the contagion pervaded the city of Mexico.

It was the wish of those who were enemies to Cortes, that the enquiry should be proceeded on in the same manner as was intended before the death of the late governor. Cortes asserted his readiness, provided that the new governor Aguilar would take upon him the responsibility of acting contrary to the testament of his predecessor. The council of Mexico however insisted that Aguilar was ineligible to that high situation, on account of his age, infirmities, and other incapacities, which indeed were pretty evident. They therefore recommended that Cortes should be associated with him, but he insisted on adhering strictly to the letter of the testament of his predecessor, and Cortes was also entirely adverse to taking any share of the authority, for private reasons, so that the whole weight rested on this poor hectic old man, who was obliged to drink goat's milk, and to be suckled by a Castillian woman to keep him alive.

I will now go to a distance both in time and place, to relate that which happened to us on our journey to Mexico from Naco, where we were waiting to hear from Sandoval, who was to send us notice of the sailing of Cortes, which intelligence we never received, Saavedra, I have already mentioned, maliciously suppressing the letters with which he was intrusted.

When our captain Marin and the rest of us found that we were disappointed, in the receipt of our expected intelligence, we determined to send a party to Truxillo to learn the truth. Accordingly ten of the cavalry, of which I was one, set out, and on our arrival at a place named Olancho, we learned from some Spaniards that Cortes had sailed. This intelligence was soon after confirmed to us in a communication we had with Saavedra; we therefore returned to our Captain Marin with the good news, and soon after we all set out with joyful hearts for Mexico. I recollect we threw stones at the country we left behind us.

On our way, at a place called Maniani, we met five soldiers who had been sent by Alvarado in search of us. They were commanded by one of our veterans named Diego de Villanueva, a brave soldier. As soon as we had recognized each other and saluted, we enquired for his Captain Alvarado, who, he informed us was not far distant, and whom accordingly, after two days march farther, we fell in with. Our meeting took place at the town of Cholulteca Malalaca, and a third party joined us there, composed of captains under Pedro Arias de Avila, who met Alvarado's party to adjust some difference about bounds. We remained here together for three days. Alvarado at this time sent one Gaspar Arias de Avila, a confidential friend of his to treat with Captain Pedro Arias, about some particular business, I believe relative to a marriage; for Captain P. A. de Avila seemed much devoted to Alvarado.

Continuing our march, we crossed a hostile country where the natives killed one of our soldiers, and wounded three

others. The want of time prevented our punishing them as they deserved. Further on, in Guatimala, they had also manned the passes against us, and we were detained three days in forcing our way; here I received a wound of an arrow, but it was of little consequence. We then arrived at the valley where the city of Guatimala is now built, the people of which were all hostile; I recollect that here we had a number of shocks of an earthquake, very long in their duration, and so violent as to throw several of the soldiers to the ground.

When we passed old Guatimala, the natives had assembled to give us an hostile reception, but we drove them away before us, and took possession of their magnificent dwellings and quadrangles, for that night, and on the ensuing day we hutted ourselves on the plain, where we halted for ten days; during which time Alvarado sent summons to the neighbouring Indians, to come in and submit. We delayed here to receive their answers, which none of them thought proper to send. We then proceeded on our journey by long marches, until we reached the station of Alvarado's main force, at Olintepeque. After halting there for some days we proceeded on towards Mexico, by Soconuzco, and Teguantepeque. On this march we lost two of our Spaniards, and the Mexican lord Juan Velasquez who had been a chief under Guatimotzin.

When we arrived at Guaxaca, we learned the news of the death of the governor Ponce de Leon. Anxiously pressing forward for Mexico, we arrived at Chalco, from whence we sent forward messengers to Cortes to inform him of our approach, and requesting that he would provide us good quarters, which we much required, for it was now two years and three months since we set out upon our expedition. As Cortes knew of our approach, he rode out with many cavaliers to meet us on the causeway, and accompany us into the city. We went on our arrival, to the great church, to return our thanks to God. From thence we attended the general to

his palace, where he had a sumptuous entertainment provided for us. Alvarado went to his residence in the fortress, of which he had been appointed alcalde. Luis Marin went to lodge with Sandoval, and I and another friend named Captain Luis Sanchez, were taken by Andrez de Tapia to his house. Sandoval and all our friends, and Cortes among the rest, sent us presents of necessaries, as also gold and cocoa for our expences.

On the next day my friend and I, accompanied by Sandoval and Andres de Tapia, proceeded to wait upon the governor Aguilar, who received us with much politeness, but declared his inability to make any new arrangements, the whole being left to his Majesty's arbitration; but that if he was authorised, he would do every thing that lay in his power to give us satisfaction. At this time arrived from the Island of Cuba, Diego de Ordaz whom I have already mentioned as the circulator of the report of our deaths; he was severely taxed for his impropriety, but most solemnly denied it to us, averring that he had only written an account of the unfortunate affair at Xicalonga as it really happened, and any misrepresentation that was made, the factor was accountable for; and for the truth of what he asserted he referred to his letters. Cortes had at this time too much business on his hands to embarrass himself any further with this; he therefore thought proper to drop it, and endeavour to rescue his property, which had been disposed of upon the supposition of his death. A great part of it had been appropriated to the expences of celebrating his funeral service, and to the saying masses for his soul and ours, to give credit to the report; and these perpetual masses which had been so purchased out of the property of Cortes upon the supposition of his death, and for the good of his soul, were now that he was found to be alive, and no longer to be in need of them, purchased by one Juan de Caceres, for the benefit of his own soul, whenever he was to die; so that Cortes was more removed from the re-attainment of his property than ever.

Ordas who was a wise man and one of experience in worldly affairs, seeing that Cortes was neglected and had fallen in public estimation since his being superceded by the governor Ponce de Leon, advised him to assume more consequence and a more stately appearance than his natural disposition prompted him to, in order to maintain the respect that was due to him; but such was his natural plainness of manners, that he never at any time liked to be called otherwise than simply, Cortes, and truly it was a great and noble name in itself, and as much revered as Cæsar's and Pompey's in the time of the Romans, Hannibal's among the Carthaginians, or in our time that of Gonzalo Hernandez, or the most valiant and ever invincible Diego Garcia de Paredes. Ordaz also informed Cortes of the report that was circulated through Mexico, of its being his intention to put the factor to death privately in jail, and he warned him of the man being powerfully patronised.

The treasurer Estrada at this time married off two of his daughters; one to Jorge de Alvarado, another to Don Luis de Guzman son to the Count De Castellar. It was then settled that Pedro de Alvarado should go to Castille to solicit the government of Guatimala, and he in the mean time sent his brother Jorge to that province with a force of our allies of different nations, to reduce it. The governor also about that period sent a force against the province of Chiapa under the command of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman, a near relation of the duke of Medina Sidonia; an other to the province of Tabasco under Balthasar Ossorio, and a third against the Zapotecan mountaineers under Alonzo de Herrera, one of our veterans.

After lingering for eight months, the governor Marcos de Aguilar gave up the ghost, leaving by testament the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada his successor. At this time, the council of Mexico and many principal Spaniards were solicitous that Cortes should be associated with the treasurer in the government, the latter appearing entirely incompetent

at the present juncture, more particularly for the following reason. Nuno de Guzman who had for two years governed the province of Panuco, was a man of a most furious and tyrannical disposition, arbitrarily extending the bounds of his jurisdiction, and putting to death all who dared to oppose his will. Thus Pedro Gonzales de Truxillo, a person of noble condition, asserting with truth that his district was a dependency of Mexico, the other without any ceremony ordered him to be immediately hanged, which was accordingly done, contrary to all justice. He also put many other Spaniards to death, apparently for no reason except to make himself feared, and set the authority of the governor of Mexico at defiance. In order therefore to curb the insolence of Guzman, it was the wish of many that Cortes should take a share in the government, but he was utterly adverse to it, knowing the difficulties, and the dangerous power and more dangerous malignity of his enemies, for as usual, upon the death of Aguilar the story was again industriously circulated, that it was owing to poison given him by Cortes.

It was determined on the peremptory refusal of the latter, that Sandoval who was alguazil major, should act conjointly with the treasurer, and he was willingly accepted as an associate by him. His first business on entering into office was, to endeavour to bring to justice one Ruano, who had fled from Mexico for some crime. He since became a rich man, for, escaping for the present, he eluded justice altogether, though Sandoval did his utmost to apprehend him.

Certain persons, the inveterate and active enemies of Cortes, now persuaded the treasurer to write to Castille, to represent at court, that he had been compelled by the influence of Cortes, to associate Sandoval with him in the government, contrary to his inclination, and to his Majesty's service. They by the same opportunity transmitted a volume of malignant falsehoods, which they had raked up against the general, such as that he had poisoned Luis Ponce de Leon, and Marcos de Aguilar the governors, as also the Adelantado

Garay, and that he had endeavoured to administer arsenic in cheesecakes to a number of people at a feast. Also that he was plotting the secret murders of the veedor and factor in jail. All which lies were supported by the industry of the contador Albornoz, who was then in Castille. He was also charged strongly as to the death of his first wife, and these things being thus urged, Cortes was in part judged unheard, an order being sent to release the veedor and factor, and an officer named Don Pedro de la Cueva commendador major of Alcantara, was ordered to go with three hundred soldiers, at the cost of Cortes, and in case of his guilt being proved, to inflict the punishment of death upon him, and distribute his property amongst the veteran conquerors of Mexico. This was however to be done under the judgment of a royal court of audience, to be present upon the spot for the purpose. All these preparations however ended in nothing; for neither Don Pedro de la Cueva, nor the court of royal audience ever arrived.

The treasurer was now greatly elevated by the countenance which he received at court, and which he attributed to his being considered a son of the catholic king. He disposed of governments at his pleasure, sending his relation Mazariejos to make enquiry into the conduct of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman in Chiapa, where they say more pillage and plunder took place than ought to have done. He also sent a force against the Zapotecans and Minxes under one De Barrios, said to be a brave soldier, and who had served in Italy. I do not mean Barrios of Seville, the brother-in-law of Cortes. This officer marched against them with a hundred soldiers, but the natives surprised him one night, and killed him with seven more of the party. Such was the difference between us the veteran conquerors, and these raw half formed soldiers, who did not know the arts and stratagems of the enemy. The governor also sent a hundred of the new soldiers, under the command of a particular friend named Figuero, to the province of Guaxaca. On his route

by the Zapotecans, Figuero fell in with a captain left in command there by Marcos de Aguilar, named Alonzo Herrera, and some dispute arising between them, swords were drawn, Herrera wounding Figuero, and three other soldiers who were with him. Figuero finding himself not able to go into the field, and his soldiers not being fit for expeditions in the mountains, thought proper to search for and break open the sepulchres, in which the ancient chiefs of those countries were interred, to make prize of the gold, which according to custom was buried with them. In this manner he collected to the value of above one hundred thousand crowns, and with this wealth, which was increased by presents, he set off for Mexico, leaving the provinces in a worse state than he found them. From Mexico he went to Vera Cruz, and embarking for Castille, the vessel in which he sailed was lost in a gale of wind, and he and all his wealth went to the bottom. The business of subjecting these Indians was finally left to us, the conquerors of Guacacualco, who at length brought them to peace, for their custom was to submit during the summer, and to break into rebellion as soon as the torrents made their country inaccessible. I was on three expeditions against them. The town of St. Alfonso is now built there, to keep them in subjection.

When the governor heard how his friend had been maltreated by Herrera, he sent the officers of justice to apprehend him; he however escaped to the rocks and woods, but they took a soldier who used to accompany him, and brought him prisoner to Mexico, where, without a hearing, the governor ordered his right hand to be struck off. His name was Cortejo, and by birth he was a gentleman.

A servant of Sandoval also at this time wounded a servant of the treasurer, in a quarrel. The treasurer had him arrested, and commanded his right hand to be cut off. Cortes and Sandoval were at this time at a place called Quernavaca, partly from motives of prudence. On hearing of this insult they posted off to Mexico, and it is said that Cortes used such

expressions to the treasurer upon the subject, as to put the latter in fear of his life. He called his friends about him to form a guard for his person, and immediately released the veedor and factor from jail. By their advice the governor was then induced to issue an order, for the instant expulsion of Cortes from Mexico. This being represented to Cortes, he declared his readiness to obey, since it was the will of God, that he who had gained that city, at the expence of his best blood, by day and by night, should be banished from it, by the base and unworthy: and that he would set out immediately, and demand justice from his Majesty.

Instantly therefore quitting the city, he went to one of his country residences at Cuyoacan, from whence in a few days he proceeded towards the coast. At this time the lady of the treasurer, a person well worthy of memory for her many virtues, seeing the dangerous consequences likely to result from his absurd and arbitrary conduct, expostulated with him on it, reminding him of the many favours he had received from Cortes, the ingratitude with which he had repaid him, and the many friends that Cortes had. These representations are said to have operated on the mind of the treasurer, so as to cause sincere repentance of the steps that he had taken.

At this time arrived in New Spain Fray Julian Garrios, first bishop of Tlascala, and who in honour to our lord the most christian Emperor was named Carolense. When this reverend prelate heard of the proceedings of the governor against Cortes, he was highly displeased with them, and two days after his arrival in Mexico where he was received with great pomp, at the request of the governor, he undertook to mediate betwixt them. Many of these seditious persons such as there are in all societies, knowing the dissatisfaction of Cortes, offered him their services if he would set himself up as an independent monarch, in New Spain. These people he immediately arrested, threatening to put them to death, and he wrote directly to the bishop of Tlascala, to inform him

of the treason. He had also received similar offers from Mexico, which he treated in the same manner. The reports of what was going on however, so terrified the veedor and factor, who did not know to what extent Cortes might be induced to go, that they became incessant in their solicitations to the governor to accelerate the departure of the bishop of Tlascala. This prelate having waited upon Cortes, and found every part of his conduct perfectly to his satisfaction, wrote back to Mexico to inform the government there of the result of his observations; the unalterable determination of Cortes to go to Old Spain, and a severe censure from himself, upon the misconduct of those who had been the cause of his quitting Mexico. I do not know whether Cortes returned to that city in order to arrange his private concerns, but he appointed several agents for that purpose, the principal of whom was the licentiate Altamirano. He brought with him from Mexico many curiosities of the country for his Majesty, such as various kinds of birds unknown in Europe, two tigers, many barrels of ambergris and indurated balsam, and another kind that resembled oil, four Indians expert at playing the stick with their feet, other Indian dancers who had a manner of appearing as if they flew in the air, three hump-backed dwarfs of extraordinary deformity, and also some male and female Indians whose skins were remarkable for their whiteness, and who have a natural defect of vision. He was also attended by several young chiefs of the Tlascalan and Mexican nations, whom he consented to take to Europe with him, at their own requests.

Chapter ix.

Cortes goes to Europe; is created Marquis of the Valley of Guaxaca. Account of various transactions and occurrences in Old and New Spain. Death and character of the Marquis of the Valley.

Cortes now received letters from the president of the Indies, the Duke of Bejar, and several other of his friends, informing him of the necessity of his appearance in Castille, to do away the malignant accusations of his enemies. Others also informed him of the death of his father Martin Cortes. Having performed the funeral obsequies to his father, he ordered two ships to be purchased, which he stored with such quantities of provisions of every kind, that the overplus when he arrived in Spain, would have sufficed for a two years voyage.

For making these preparations he employed his major domo who was named Esquival. This officer crossing the lake of Mexico to Ayotcingo in a large canoe with six Indian rowers and one Negro, and having some ingots of gold in his possession, was way-laid and murdered somewhere on the lake. The manner of his death never was known, neither canoe, Indians, or Negro, ever being traced. The body of Esquival was found four days after in a small island, half eaten by birds of prey. There were many suspicions entertained about this affair; the man was said to be a great boaster of the favours he received from the ladies. There were also other bad stories told of him, which gave rise to suspicions of such a nature as I cannot relate; no great enquiry was made as to his death, God pardon him his sins! Cortes appointed other officers to complete the preparations for his

voyage. He offered by proclamation a free passage to all such Spaniards as obtained a permission from the government to go to Castille, and a supply of provisions to them on the voyage.

All things being ready, and having confessed and comulgated, he embarked in company with Sandoval, Tapia, and other cavaliers, and after a voyage of forty one days arrived in Europe, disembarking near the town of Palos; as soon as he set his foot on shore he fell on his knees, to return thanks to God for his mercies. His arrival in Old Spain was in the month of December in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty seven. To good fortune succeeded grief, by the death of the brave Captain Sandoval, after a lingering sickness, at his lodgings in the house of a rope maker at Palos, who, in his presence, robbed him of thirteen bars of gold. This rogue perceiving his weak situation, sent his servants on a pretended message from Sandoval to Cortes, who was then at Nuestra Senora de la Ravida, and having the house to himself, went into Sandoval's room, and breaking open his chest, took out the gold, while our poor friend lay in bed unable to resist him, and apprehensive, if he made any outcry, that the fellow would smother him in the bedclothes. As soon as he had got the gold he made his escape with it into Portugal, where he could not be pursued. Cortes shortly after arrived, and was informed of what had happened, but pursuit was too late. Sandoval then grew worse every hour, and the physicians recommended confession; which being done, and having received the holy sacrament, in a short time after he gave up the ghost, but not before he had made a will, whereby he left his property to a sister who afterwards married a natural son of the Count de Medelin. Sandoval died universally regretted. His funeral was attended by a great train of mourners, among whom was Cortes. God pardon him his sins! amen.

Cortes sent an express to his Majesty, and also to his patrons at court, informing them of his arrival, and also of

the death of his friend Sandoval, whose merits and services were known to his Majesty, and for whose loss he was pleased to express great regret. The Duke of Bejar and the Count of Aguilar, on receiving the intelligence, waited on his Majesty, but found him in possession of it by the letter of Cortes. His Majesty seemed to have at present a conviction of that officer's loyalty, for which his friend the Duke of Bejar had been three times obliged to engage his life, for he was pleased to order that in all the cities and towns through which Cortes passed, he should be received with the highest honour.

When he arrived at Seville he was entertained there by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who made him a present of several beautiful horses. From thence he proceeded, to attend the nine days devotions to our Lady of Guadeloupe. Donna Maria, wife of the commendador Don Francisco de los Cobos, with many other ladies of great rank arrived at the same time. As soon as Cortes had paid his devotions, given charity to the poor, and ordered mass to be said, he went attended by all his retinue of cavaliers to pay his respects to Donna Maria, the beautiful lady her sister, and the many others of distinguished rank who were in her company. Here Cortes had an opportunity of exhibiting that politeness, gallantry, and generosity, in which he surpassed all men. He made presents of golden ornaments of great value, to all, but more especially to Donna Maria and her sister: and to each lady he gave a penache of green feathers, richly ornamented with gold. He then produced his Indian dancers who threw the stick from one foot to another, to the astonishment of the spectators, and in addition to all this, understanding that one of the mules belonging to the sister of Donna Maria was unable to travel, he caused to be purchased for her two of the finest that could be procured for money. He also waited the departure of those ladies for the court, attending them upon the journey and providing magnificent entertainments for them, the honours of which he did with

a grace peculiar to himself, insomuch that Donna Maria de Mendoza began to entertain thoughts of an alliance between her sister and Cortes. However in marriages as in other cases it is the hand of God which leads us, and therefore no more need be said upon the subject. Donna Maria was so taken with the politeness and generosity of Cortes, that she wrote to the commendador of Leon saying, that the fame of Cortes and his heroic actions was far short of the judgment which must be formed of him, by those who had the good fortune of his acquaintance, and brought over her husband completely to his interest.

When our general arrived at court, his Majesty was pleased to appoint the apartments to receive him, and his friends came out in a body to meet him on the road. On the ensuing day he went by permission to throw himself at his Majesty's feet, being attended by the Duke of Bejar, the admiral of the Indies, and the commendador of Leon. His Majesty commanded him to rise, and Cortes, after a short enumeration of his services, and vindication of his conduct from the aspersions of his enemies, presented a memorial wherein the whole was fully detailed. His Majesty having received it, commanded him to rise, and immediately honoured him with the title of Marquis del Valle, and the order of St. Jago. He also gave him an estate to maintain his new dignity, and confirmed him captain general of New Spain and of the south seas. Cortes, thus loaded with honours, retired from the royal presence to receive in a few days a still greater than all. Shortly after his arrival in Toledo he fell dangerously ill; when the Emperor heard it, he did him the honour of paying him a visit in person. He however recovered in a short time, and the particular favour of his Majesty encouraged him to assume a rank and character equal to his high title. One sunday that his Majesty was at mass in the cathedral, and seated according to custom with his nobility each in his proper station, Cortes, designedly as it is said, came there late, and after all

were seated; and passing before the whole of them, took his place next to the Count de Nasao, who was nearest to the Emperor. This gave great offence to many though others said it was by the Emperor's desire. Indeed Cortes began to feel his elevation so much, that it made him not hold some of his former patrons in the estimation he ought, all his attention being bestowed on the Duke of Bejar, the Count de Nasao, and the admiral. Thinking that now the ball was at his foot with the support of such great men, he applied to the Emperor for the government of New Spain; this request, though supported by his patrons, did not succeed, his Majesty thinking he had done sufficiently and that some of his attention was due to those conquerors, by whose assistance he had gained that country. From this time Cortes did not seem so much in favour as before.

His Majesty was then proceeding on his journey to Flanders. After his departure, the marriage took place between the Marquis del Valle, and Donna Juana de Zuniga, on which occasion he presented his lady with the most magnificent jewels that ever had been in Castille. Her Majesty Queen Isabella, from the account given by the lapidaries, expressed a wish to have some, which Cortes accordingly presented her with, but it is said that they were not so fine or so valuable as those which he gave to his lady.

I will now relate some other circumstances, such as I have heard concerning him while he resided in Castille. One was, that Queen Isabella was not his friend on account of the appearances of ingratitude in his conduct to his patrons, and also in consequence of the inferiority of the presents which he made her. However she ordered in the Emperor's absence, that he should have every support from the council of the Indies. Cortes at this time obtained permission to fit out two ships on a voyage of discovery to the south seas, with a condition that he should enjoy certain rights and revenues from whatever lands were acquired to the crown of Spain. Don Pedro de la Cueva was at this time at court;

this was the officer who was to have gone to Mexico to try, and if found guilty, to execute Cortes. They were now on the most amicable and intimate footing. Don Pedro told him that even his innocence would have been sufficiently expensive to him, as the costs of the expedition, which he must have paid, amounted to upwards of three hundred thousand crowns. All those, and other particulars we received an account of in private letters, as well from the Marquis del Valle, as from other persons. He now sent a gentleman to Rome, to kiss the feet of his Holiness Pope Clement, and with a rich present of gold, silver, and jewels. He also sent some of the Indians who played with the stick, and a full memorial of all circumstances concerning the newly discovered country. He also took this opportunity to supplicate for a partial remission of the tithes of New Spain.

This gentleman, Juan de Herrada, was a brave soldier, who attended Cortes in his expedition to Honduras. After he returned from Europe he went to Peru, where Don Diego de Almagro left him in the office of governor to his son. He was highly in the confidence of this family, and served as Maestre de Campo to the young Almagro; he was also captain of the party which killed Don Francisco Pizarro the elder.

His Holiness on the receipt of the letters returned thanks to God for the opportunity of making so many thousand converts to the holy faith. He also praised the services rendered by us, to the church and our monarch, and sent us bulls of indulgence from penalties of our sins, with others for churches and hospitals. In regard to the tithes, I do not know what was done. The Indians were brought to dance before his Holiness and the cardinals, who expressed their high satisfaction at their performances. After Herrada had concluded his business at Rome, he returned with a liberal reward from Pope Clement, who gave him the title and rank of count palatine, and wrote by him, strongly requesting for

him a grant of a considerable plantation in New Spain, which he never received, and in consequence went to Peru.

While Cortes was in Castille, the members of the royal court of audience arrived in Mexico. Nuno de Guzman formerly governor of Panuco was the president. The Oydors were, four licentiates, by name Matienzo, Delgadillo, Maldonado, (I do not mean Alonzo Maldonado the good who was governor of Guatimala) and Parada. These magistrates from their first arrival shewed a determination to do justice. They were armed with greater powers than any officers ever sent by his Majesty to New Spain. They were also intrusted with the management of the final partition of landed property, wherein his Majesty had particularly charged them to take care of the interests of the conquerors. On their arrival, they issued a proclamation, requiring the attendance of an agent from each settlement, with memorials and returns of the several districts. The agents all arrived in the course of a few days. I was then in Mexico on my office of procurador sindico of the town of Guacacualco; I posted off to the last mentioned place, in order to attend at the election of the agents, about which there was a violent contest but plurality of voices decided it in favour of Captain Luis Marin and myself. When we arrived at Mexico we found that two of the oydors were dead of pleurisies, and that the factor Salazar had acquired so complete an ascendency over the others, that they did nothing but as he advised them. It was lucky for Cortes that he was not at Mexico; the death of the two oydors would have been certainly laid to his charge.

The agents now called loudly for a final repartition; but the factor had persuaded the president and oydors, not to agree to that which would be a diminution of their influence, by taking so much patronage out of their hands. It was also settled, that Salazar should go to Europe to solicit the government of New Spain for the president Guzman. He

actually sailed, but being overtaken by a storm was shipwrecked on the coast near Guacacualco, from whence he returned to Mexico. The treasurer Estrada died in a short time after his being superseded, which he was more by his own tameness than from any right they could prove from his Majesty's orders, for they were, that he should govern solely; nor was any thing said of associating Guzman with him; whereas the latter usurped the government to himself entirely, from the time he was appointed president of the court. He was much regretted by all, having conducted himself in such a manner as to give universal satisfaction, nor would he have wanted support if he had insisted on maintaining his office.

A commission was appointed at Guatimala, where Jorge de Alvarado was established, but I do not know the result of it.

In Mexico they proceeded with great severity against the Marquis del Valle. The factor especially took the opportunity to revile and slander him in the grossest manner, and foulest expressions. The Marquis's friend the licentiate Altamarano remonstrated with the court upon these indecencies, but to no good effect, for the factor, countenanced by Guzman and the rest, became more abusive than before. The court was thereby thrown into confusion; for Altamirano was at last so provoked as to draw his poniard, and would have put the factor to death had it not been for the interference of those present. Altimirano was carried to the fortress, the other was sent to his house, and the whole city was in an uproar. The licentiate, upon our supplication, was at the end of three days released from confinement, and the present matter was made up; but a greater storm succeeded, for at this time there arrived in Mexico one Zavalos, a relation of the Captain Pamfillo de Narvaez, who had been sent by the wife of the latter in quest of her husband, who had gone as governor to the river of Palmas, and was supposed to have been lost or dead. When Zavalos arrived in

Mexico, instigated as is supposed by the members of the court, he lodged informations against all the soldiers of Cortes who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez. Of course nearly the whole of us who were in the city, and myself amongst the rest, amounting in all to about two hundred and fifty, were apprehended, brought to trial, and convicted. We were sentenced to pay a fine of a certain quantity of gold, and to be banished to the distance of five leagues from Mexico. However the sentence was but slightly enforced, the banishment being remitted and very few paying the fine.

The enemies of the Marquis del Valle now took a new ground of attack against him, which was, that he had embezzled the treasure of Montezuma and Guatimotzin, and that he was answerable to the soldiers, not only for that which he had appropriated to his own use, but also for that which he had sent to Europe as a present to his Majesty, and which had been captured by the corsair Juan Florin. A long catalogue of other demands followed, every one of which he was condemned upon, and his property sold for the payment. One Juan Xuares his brother-in-law was also at this time brought forward, to demand justice in open court for the murder of his sister Donna Catalina, offering to produce witnesses of the manner of her death. Many of us the friends of the Marquis, seeing the attacks that were made against him, met by appointment and under the licence of an alcalde, at the house of one Garcia Holguin, where we entered into a resolution to renounce all claim to the treasure; but when the oydors heard our business, they ordered us all to be arrested, as they alleged, for meeting without permission. We produced to them the licence which we had obtained for the purpose, but they, to keep up appearances, banished us to the distance of five leagues from Mexico. We were however allowed to return; though we still thought ourselves hardly treated enough.

New matter for confusion was now brought forward; a

proclamation was issued that all persons of Indian descent, or of that of Moors, who had been burned or [1] ensanbenited by the holy inquisition, as far as the fourth degree from their ancestors who had thus suffered, should quit New Spain within four months from the date thereof, on pain of losing one half of their properties. It was most wonderful to see what hosts of accusers and informers started up at once on this occasion, and what slanders and infamies were brought forward. At last it ended in the expulsion of two individuals.

The court was generous in fulfilling his Majesty's commands, in regard to the old conquerors, who were all well provided for; the greatest error it committed was, the excessive license given to the branding slaves. So many were made in the province of Panuco that it became almost depopulated. The president Guzman, who was of a noble and liberal disposition, made a new year's gift of a whole district named Guazpaltepeque, to Albornoz who was newly returned from Spain. He brought with him his Majesty's patent, under which he erected some sugar works in Cempoal, which went to ruin after a few years. The oydor Delgadillo was censured on account of his free gifts, for it was noticed that some rent was reserved to himself in them, and the consequent extortions and oppressions of those he patronised were excessive. The conduct of Guzman was equally reprehensible; as to the other oydor, Matienzo, he was superannuated. The abuses of this court came at length to such an excess, that it was thought proper by the higher powers in Europe, completely to supercede it, and substitute one composed of persons of more discretion. Old Matienzo who was the least objectionable, was sent to Panuco to enquire into and remedy the abuses which had been committed there. This officer ordered accounts or lists of the slaves to be drawn out, to prevent them from being arbitrarily transported from one province to another, and he revoked the grants which the president and the other oydor had made to

[1] San Benito; a dress put on criminals.

their friends and clients, bestowing the plantations upon those persons who were pointed out by his Majesty's instructions. Every one then who had acquired the plantations which they were to deliver up, insisted that they had been granted as a reward of former merits, the proofs of which they endeavoured to adduce, and utterly disclaimed all patronage or protection from the president and oydor. The confusion was extreme. However many if not almost all succeeded in keeping what they had got, the only persons deprived being Albornoz of his new year's gift, one Villaroel, and Villegas.

As soon as the members of the court heard that they were to be superceded, they resolved to dispatch agents to Castille with plenty of witnesses, such as were fit and well prepared for their purpose, to vouch for the propriety of their conduct. It was determined to proceed to the election of the agents who were to be sent on this occasion, and for this purpose all the veteran conquerors, with many other persons of consideration, met in the great church, where the person was to be chosen by vote. Guzman and the oydors recommended the factor Salazar, and although they had committed some improprieties, yet as they had in the main acted so well by us in the distribution of property, we were all well inclined to vote for the person recommended by them, and which they expected us to do. When we had all assembled for the purpose in the great church, there was such a noise and outcry set up by persons who had no business there, but had crouded in, that it was hardly possible to proceed to the election. It was ordered that all who had not been summoned should quit the place, but it was to no effect; they would not go, and at last the question was obliged to be put to the whole. Since those who had no business there would neither quit the place nor be silent, it may be judged what kind of an election it was. When we perceived how matters were going, it was agreed amongst us to adjourn until the following day, at the house of the president of the council, and none were

summoned but persons of one way of thinking. Of course it was amicably decided. In consequence of an adjustment, two agents were to be chosen, one, Anthonio de Carvajal, on the part of the oydors, and another, Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia, on that of Cortes. However it appeared to me that both were equally devoted to the views of the president; and it was natural enough, for the latter had rendered much more service to our interest in his short time, than Cortes had done during the long period of his power. But such is the natural loyalty of the Spaniards, that we were more attached to Cortes, from his having been our captain, than he was to our interests, although he had his Majesty's orders to attend to them. Of this a proof now occurred, for the president and oydors intrigued for an application to be made to his Majesty, in manner of a petition, against the appointment or return of Cortes to New Spain, at any future time. The grounds upon which they moved it were, the dangers that would occur from public disturbances and factions, which might end in the loss of the country. This we opposed with all our might, and Alvarado, being at this time arrived in Mexico with the office of governor and adelantado of Guatimala, and a commandery of St. Jago, it was agreed between him and the friends of Cortes, to lay before his Majesty a statement of the whole affair, with the views of the members of the council; and it hereby appearing to the supreme court of the Indies, that all these measures were guided by passion and interest, it confirmed the original determination to supercede Guzman and the oydors. The presence of Cortes in Spain also at this period was highly favourable to his interests, and he now was rapidly proceeding to the pinnacle of his fortune.

When Nuno de Guzman had received certain intelligence from Old Spain of his being superceded, he determined to go upon an expedition to the province of Xalisco, now called New Gallicia. For this purpose he collected the greatest force that he was able in Mexico, partly of volunteers, and partly of such as he compelled to join him by the weight of

power of which he was not yet deprived. Those who did not serve personally he compelled to find, or pay for substitutes, and those who had horses were obliged to give them for half their value. He brought with him a number of Mexicans as soldiers, or to convey his baggage, and cruelly oppressed the provinces through which he passed. In Mechoacan he obtained a great quantity of gold, which the inhabitants had collected and amassed for ages past; it was much lowered in value by a mixture of silver. The unfortunate chief of the province, not being able to gratify his avarice to its full extent, he first commanded him to be put to the torture by burning his feet, and afterwards upon some trifling and false allegations caused him to be hanged, which was one of the wickedest and cruellest actions ever committed by an officer, and as such it was considered by every Spaniard in his army. He brought from this province also a number of natives loaded with booty, to the city of Compostello, which he founded at a heavy expence to his Majesty and the inhabitants of Mexico. Here Guzman remained until his arrest.

As I have before related, in consequence of the injustice practised by the former court of audience, his Majesty was pleased to suppress it and cancel all its grants. He also appointed a new one, composed of wise and upright members, whereof D. Sebastian Ramirez de Villaescasa bishop of St. Domingo was president, and the licentiates Maldonado de Salamanca, Zainos de Toro, Vasco de Quiroga de Madrigal afterwards bishop of Mechoacan, and Solomon de Madrid were oydors. These officers being arrived, the court opened its sittings, which was notified by a proclamation, in consequence whereof there assembled such crouds of complainants, from city, towns, and country, of all descriptions, settlers, agents, and native chiefs, alledging acts of partiality and oppression against the former court, and demanding justice, that the members were quite astonished. The demands of the agents of Cortes for what had been unjustly

alienated from him, if they had been all to be now repaid, would have amounted to above two hundred thousand crowns. Nuno de Guzman being absent, the whole blame was laid upon him by the other members of the old court, who alledged that they were compelled to act as he thought proper to order them. He was accordingly summoned to appear, which he did not think proper to do, and in the present circumstances it was judged most expedient to refer the affair to the supreme court in Europe: which being done, a civil officer named Torre, a licentiate and native of Badajos, was sent with full power, to the province of Xalisco, and with orders to transmit Guzman to Mexico and commit him to the common goal. He had also a commission to indemnify us in the costs which we had been fined upon the affair of Narvaez, and those at the time that we were arrested, as I have already related. But I will now take leave for the present of the licentiate Torre, and return to the affairs of the court.

The properties of Delgadillo and Matienzo were sold to pay the damages of those who had gained their causes against them, and their persons were imprisoned for the deficiency. A brother of Delgadillo who was alcalde major in Guaxaca, was fined and imprisoned for the same reason; he died in jail, as did another who was alcalde amongst the Zapotecans, and certainly the new judges were so wise and just, that they considered nothing but what was in compliance with the will of God and his Majesty. They also shewed a laudable anxiety for the conversion of the Indians to our holy faith, and immediately prohibited the branding them for slaves, and made many other good regulations. After four years thus employed, the oydors Solomon and Zaynos petitioned for leave to retire, being both of an advanced age, and very wealthy, and his Majesty in consideration of their eminent services, was pleased to grant their request. The president also, by command of his Majesty, repaired to Europe, to give an account of the affairs of this country. He

was then bishop of St. Domingo, but was advanced in succession through the sees of Toro, Leon, and Cuenca, with such celerity, that the bulls had hardly a day's interval between them. He was also president of the royal chancery of Valladolid, and while in possession of these honours he was seized by death, and placed in glory among the virtuous, according to the promise of our holy faith, for he was a true and upright judge. He had been before his promotion to a bishopric, inquisitor in Seville. The good conduct of the oydor Maldonado was rewarded with the government of the provinces of Guatimala, Honduras, and Viragua, and with the title of adelantado of Yucatan, and the oydor Quiroga obtained the bishopric of Mechoacan. Such were the rewards of the good judges! Delgadillo and Matienzo returned to Castille in poverty, where, as I have heard, they died in the course of two or three years.

At this time his Majesty was pleased to appoint to the vice-royalty of New Spain, the most illustrious and worthy cavalier of praise worthy memory, D. Anthonio de Mendoza brother to the Marquis of Montejar. There also came as oydors the doctor Quesada, the licentiate Tejada de Logrono, and the licentiate Loaysa native of Cuidad Real; he was an old man, and stayed three or four years in Mexico; and during that time having collected a good sum of money, he took his leave of the country at the expiration of it, and returned to his home. There was also another licentiate who came out as oydor, who was named Santillana; but the licentiate Maldonado had not then vacated his office. All were excellent magistrates. As soon as they had opened the court, free enquiry was proclaimed into the conduct of their predecessors, which was found to be in every respect comformable to justice.

The Viceroy, on his arrival, knowing that the licentiate Torre was sent out with orders to arrest Nuno de Guzman, to save Guzman from that insult sent to him to come to Mexico, which he having complied with, the Viceroy assigned

him apartments in his palace, and treated him with much politeness. Just about this time Torre arrived with his Majesty's orders to arrest Guzman, but with directions to communicate them to the Viceroy. It seems that the licentiate did not find the support to his strong measures that he expected, and this exasperating his natural violence, he in consequence went to the Viceroy's palace, and there furiously seized, and dragged Guzman to the common jail, saying he did it by his Majesty's order, and that he cared for nothing further. Here Guzman remained for several days, and was at last released on the intercession of the Viceroy. It was well known that Torre had strong powers given to him to act discretionarily in regard to Guzman.

This licentiate was much addicted to card playing, although he did not game deeply, playing only at triumpho and primero for pastime. His propensity being however well known, some friend of Guzman's took advantage of it, to mortify and turn him into ridicule, and the method which was taken to do it was as follows. The civilians at that time wore gowns with loose hanging sleeves, into one of which somebody maliciously put a pack of cards, and contrived it in such a manner, that as Torre was walking across the crouded square of Mexico, in company with several persons of quality, a dexterous twitch being given, the cards began to drop from his sleeve, leaving a long trail of them after him as he went on. Those who saw it laughed and called the attention of others to the cards coming out of the licentiate's sleeve; but when he found out what the joke was, and that he was the subject of it, being naturally choleric, it enraged him exceedingly, and he went off saying he saw clearly it was their intention to prevent his doing justice, but he would, though he died for it; and that his Majesty should know the indignity that had been offered to his officer. Either from vexation, or a calenture natural to the climate, with which he was seized just after this, he died in the course of a few

days, whereby the affair of Guzman, luckily for him, was respited for the present.

Cortes having now been a long time in Castille, married to the niece of the Duke of Bejar, advanced to the rank of marquis, captain general of New Spain, and admiral of the South Seas, became anxious to return to his estates in this country. He now embarked from Old Spain with his family and twelve reverend fathers of the order of mercy, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, where he did not experience the kind of reception he formerly met with. From thence he proceeded to Mexico, to present his patents to the Viceroy, and enter upon his offices. He also at this time made application upon a particular point relative to his Majesty's grant of lands and towns. This point, which I do not well understand, I must leave to better judges. The grant ran thus; mentioning the district, it enumerated the inhabitants, by the word "vecinos," or neighbours, considered to belong to it, and who were to be his tributaries. Cortes understood that the head of the family only was considered as the vassal or "vecino," or that one only should be counted for each house, but the oydor, doctor Quezada who was sent to allot his district, insisted that every male adult, master or head of family, son, servant, or slave, was to be counted in the number, and as there were frequently twelve or fifteen of those to one house, the Marquis was much disappointed, and several lawsuits ensued. The matter was reported to his Majesty, but continued in suspence for several years, during which time the Marquis received his full rents, without any molestation. He retired to a place upon his estate named Quernavaca, where he established his residence, never returning to Mexico.

While Marcos de Aguilar had the government of New Spain, the Marquis del Valle fitted out four ships at Zacatula. They were well provided, loaded with various articles of merchandise, and commanded by Alvarado de Saavedra, who

with two hundred and fifty soldiers took his course for the Molucca and Spice Islands, and China. This was by his Majesty's command, as I can testify, the royal letters having been shown to me and many others. He was further ordered to cause search to be made during the course of his voyage, for a squadron which had sailed from Castille for China, under the command of Don Garcia de Loaysa, commander of St. John of Rhodes. At the time that Saavedra was preparing for his expedition, a vessel arrived belonging to this fleet, from the pilot and crew of which Saavedra acquired all the information he wanted, and taking one pilot and two sailors from this vessel with him, he set sail in December, of one thousand five hundred and twenty seven or twenty eight, and sustained many misfortunes, hardships, and losses, in the way to the Molucca Islands. I do not know the particulars, but in three years afterwards I met with a sailor who had been on board this fleet, and who told me many strange and surprising things of the cities and nations he had seen, during his voyage. These are the countries to which they are now sending expeditions from Mexico. I also heard that the Portugueze had made prisoner Saavedra or some of his people, and brought them to Castille.

In the month of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty two, the Marquis del Valle sent two ships from the port of Acapulco, to make discoveries in the South Seas. They were commanded by a captain named Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who, without going far to sea, or doing any thing worthy of relating, had the misfortune of a mutiny among the troops, in consequence whereof, one ship, of which the mutineers took possession, as is said, but very improbably, by the approbation of Hurtado himself, returned to New Spain, to the great disappointment of Cortes. As for Hurtado, neither he nor his vessel were ever more heard of.

After this, Cortes sent off two other vessels, one of which was commanded by a gentleman named Diego Bezerra de Mendoza; he was of the Bezerras of Badajos or Merida; the

other was commanded by one Hernando de Grijalva. The principal pilot was one Ximenes, a Biscayan, and a great cosmographer. The orders from the Marquis were, first to go in search of Hurtado, and in case of not finding him, to go upon a voyage of discovery of new islands, especially those which were reported to be rich in pearls. The Biscayan pilot, before they sailed, was always telling the others how he would bring them to countries where they should all make their fortunes. Many were weak enough to believe him. The first night after they left the port of Guantepeque, a gale of wind rose and separated the vessels, which never afterwards joined company, Grijalva not choosing to be under the command of Bezerra, who was very haughty. He had also another motive, in wishing to keep the merit of any discoveries he should make, to himself. After sailing two hundred leagues, he came to an island which was uninhabited, and which he named Santo Tome. Bezerro and his pilot Ximines had a quarrel upon their voyage, and the former having made himself very odious by his domineering disposition, the pilot formed a plot for the assassination of him and several more, which he put in execution one night as the captain and the others were sleeping. The sanguinary views of the conspirators went much farther, but the intercession of two Franciscan friars saved the lives of many who were already bleeding from their treachery, but whom, together with the friars, they determined to land in Xalisco. Ximines taking the command upon the death of Bezerra, and continuing his route, discovered an island to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz. It was said that pearls were found on its coasts. It was inhabited by savages, and here he determined to put the friars and those whose lives had been spared at their intercession on shore, which he accordingly did, and being in want of water, he went to the shore at the same time in search of it; they had been on the island but a very short time when the natives came down upon them, and

put every person they found to death, in view of those on board the ship.

This gave the Marquis great vexation. He now determined not to trust any one, but to go in person, having three ships ready to launch in the port of Guantepeque. When the Spaniards of those countries saw that he intended to embark upon a voyage of discovery, they thought success was certain, and numbers prepared to follow him as soldiers, above one hundred and thirty of whom were married men, and brought their wives with them. They were in all above three hundred and twenty, the women included. The Marquis left Mexico accompanied by Andres de Tapia and several other officers, some ecclesiastics, physicians, surgeons, and an apothecary, and having embarked, in the month of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty six, or seven, he set sail for the Island of Santa Cruz, with as many colonists and soldiers as the vessels could contain; and having arrived there after a prosperous voyage, he sent back the ships to bring the remainder of his people. The second voyage was not so fortunate. They met with gales of wind, in which they were separated near the river of St. Peter and St. Paul, one vessel only arriving at the Island of Santa Cruz, where the Marquis anxiously expected them, as the provisions, of which he began to be in great want, were on board. Of those vessels which did not join him at Santa Cruz, one was stranded on the coast of Xalisco, and the people on board being tired of the business quitted her there, most of them returning to New Spain. This was the one which contained the provisions. The other came to a bay which they named, from the quantity of guayavas, Guayaval.

During this time the Marquis and those with him were famishing upon this uncultivated island. Twenty three of the soldiers died from absolute distress, and the rest were sinking every day, and cursing his expeditions and discoveries. Their situation and murmurs compelled him at length to go in search of his ships, and he accordingly embarked with fifty

soldiers, and judging that they must have been driven on the coast in the storms, he searched in that direction, and after some time found one as before mentioned, stranded on the coast of Xalisco, and abandoned by the people. The other was met with by him amongst some rocks. Having got them repaired and afloat, with much trouble, he brought them to his Island of Santa Cruz, and a quantity of provisions being now served out to the famished soldiers, they eat thereof in such a manner that the half of them died.

The Marquis, in order to avoid such a scene of distress, embarked in pursuit of new discoveries, and during this voyage fell in with the land of California. He was by that time as heartily tired of the business as any one, but he could not bear the thoughts of returning after such expences and losses, without having effected something, lest his misfortunes should be ascribed to the curses of the conquerors of Mexico, his ancient companions.

The Marchioness del Valle, hearing of the loss of one of the vessels on the coast, grew very apprehensive, and accordingly fitted out two ships, which sailed under the command of one Ulloa, in search of the marquis and his squadron, with letters from his lady and the Viceroy earnestly soliciting his return. Ulloa was fortunate enough to light upon him, and the Marquis suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and returned to Mexico by the port of Acapulco, leaving Ulloa in command of the squadron. His return rejoiced the Spaniards, who feared always that the native chiefs, not being awed by him, would break out into revolt. In a short time after his arrival, the people whom he had left in California returned, but I cannot say whether in consequence of orders from the government or not.

After the Marquis had reposed for a few months, he fitted out another expedition of two ships under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, already named by me, who sailed from the port of Natividad in the month of June, of I forget what year, with orders to examine the coast of California, and to

search for Captain Hurtado who never had been heard of. Ulloa employed in this voyage about seven months, at the expiration of which he returned to Xalisco, without having effected any thing; and going for a few days on shore to repose, a soldier who bore a malice against him took an opportunity to way-lay and assassinate him, and thus ended the discoveries of the Marquis del Valle, in which he expended, as I have heard him declare, above three hundred thousand crowns.

In order to get some allowance from his Majesty for this loss, he determined to go to Castille; he had also other business which called him there, such as the dispute about his vassals, and the restitution of his property which had been seized by Nuno de Guzman, now prisoner in Old Spain. I will conclude this account by observing, that it appears that the Marquis never prospered from the time of his first conquest of New Spain, and his ill fortune is ascribed to the curses with which he was loaded.

The Viceroy and court of royal audience had sent out a military force commanded by an officer named Francisco Vasquez Coronado, who married the virtuous and fair daughter of the treasurer Estrada. Coronado left his government of Xalisco to an officer named Onate, and after he had been for some months in the country to which he was sent, and which was named Celibola or the seven cities, a Franciscan friar named Marcos de Nica, returned from thence to Mexico to give an account of the country to the Viceroy. He described it as consisting of fine plains full of herds of cattle, but which were quite different in their appearance from those of Castille. The houses he described as having two stories and stairs, and the towns as being populous. He also represented, that as it lay near the Pacific Ocean, a supply of necessaries could be sent to the Spanish force, conveniently, in that direction. It was for this reason that three ships were sent thither under the command of Hernando de Alarco, an officer in the Viceroy's household.

I must not omit to mention the particulars of the great armament prepared by Don Pedro de Alvarado, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty seven, in the port of Acaxatla on the Pacific Ocean. This fleet was fitted out by Alvarado in consequence of permission obtained from his Majesty, by whom he was granted certain rents and advantages, in such countries as he should discover towards the west; that is to say China, the Moluca, and Spice Islands.

Alvarado being always zealous for his Majesty's service, as appeared by his conduct in Mexico and Peru, was anxious that this expedition should exceed any other that had ever been fitted out. It consisted of thirteen sail, amply provided. The port at which the preparations were made was above two hundred leagues distant from that of Vera Cruz, from which all the iron, and most other necessary articles were to be brought by land carriage. The consequence was, that the money expended would have built eighty such ships in Seville. All the wealth Alvarado brought from Peru, what he got from the mines of Guatimala, with the rents of his estates and the presents of his friends and relations were insufficient, although the merchandize was taken upon credit. The expence attending the ships was nothing in comparison to that of his army, consisting of six hundred and fifty soldiers with their officers, and a number of horses, of which latter a good one could not be procured for less than three hundred crowns. Alvarado sailed some time in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty eight, for the harbour of the Purification in the province of Xalisco, where he was to take in water, and embark more soldiers. When the Viceroy heard of this great armament, he became anxious to have a share in it, and went with Alvarado to view his fleet, after which they returned to Mexico.

Alvarado wished to have a relation of his own, named Juan, (not the Juan de Alvarado of Chiribito) as general, and the Viceroy was anxious that an officer named Villalobos should have the command, conjointly with him. Things

were in this state when Alvarado was obliged to return to his fleet at the port of Natividad; and being there, and just ready to set sail, he received a letter from Christoval de Onate who was left in command at Xalisco, in the absence of Francisco Coronado, requesting his immediate assistance to save him and the settlement from the destruction with which they were threatened, by the force of the neighbouring Indians of Cochitlan. Alvarado set off with his troops to their relief, and found them in a most desperate situation indeed. The insurgents rather decreased the violence of their attacks upon the appearance of Alvarado's force, but still hostilities were carried on, and one day that Alvarado was pursuing some of the enemy among the rocks and mountains where they had retreated, a soldier who was on horseback at a considerable height above him on the side of a mountain, and whose horse had lost his footing, came, horse and all, rolling down the precipice, and striking Alvarado, brought him down with them. By this accident he was so much bruised, that in consequence thereof, and of being removed too suddenly to the town of the Pacification, he was seized with fainting fits, and in the course of a few days gave up the ghost. God pardon his sins! some say that he made a will previous to his death, but it never appeared. He was buried with as much ceremony as could be bestowed upon his funeral, and his remains were, as I have heard, afterwards removed to the town of Piripito by Juan de Alvarado his relation.

As soon as the news of his death was known to his fleet and army, numbers discharged themselves, and returned to their homes with what they had received. In Mexico he was greatly regretted. The Viceroy sent off immediately the licentiate Maldonado, to take proper steps to prevent any confusion likely to ensue, and shortly after following in person, collected what remained of the soldiers, and marching against the insurgents in the rocks, after a tedious expedition succeeded in reducing them. The loss of Alvarado

was severely felt in his family. As soon as the fatal intelligence arrived in Guatimala, the Bishop D. Francisco Marroguin of excellent memory, and all the clergy, assisted in rendering him the funeral honours. His major domo also, to shew his sorrow, caused the walls of his house to be painted black, which colour they remained ever after. Many cavaliers waited upon his lady Donna Beatrix de la Cueva and her family, in order to console them, for their distress was very great. They told her that she should give thanks to God, since it was his will to take her husband, to which she as a good christian assented, but observed, that she wished to be free from this melancholy world, and all its misfortunes.

These circumstances I mention, because the historian Gomara attributes the unfortunate event which shortly afterwards befell her, to her having spoken blasphemously, in saying that God could do her no more injury than she had already suffered. She met with her death in the following manner. A deluge of water and mud broke from the Volcano which is at the distance of about half a league from Guatimala, and bringing with it great quantities of large stones and trees, overwhelmed the house of Donna Beatrix, who was at the time praying with her women. As to the words which Gomara ascribes to her, she never uttered them, nor was her death a judgment of God in any respect. But I must observe the particularities of the fate of this family. Although Alvarado and his four brothers had served his Majesty so zealously, not any part of his property descended to his children. D. Pedro de Alvarado died as I have related, by an uncommon accident in Cochitlan; his brother George died in the city of Madrid, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty, being then soliciting his Majesty for some reward; Gomez de Alvarado died in Peru, Gonzalo de Alvarado in Mexico or Guaxaca, I forget which, and Juan on his voyage to the Island of Cuba. His eldest son going with his relation Juan de Alvarado the younger to wait on

his Majesty, and solicit a recompence for his father's services, the ship wherein they went was lost, and neither they nor it were ever heard of after they set sail. Don Diego the younger son, seeing his fortunes desperate, returned to Peru, where he died in battle, and the lady of Pedro de Alvarado, with the female part of his family, one only excepted, were drowned by a torrent from a Volcano. Now curious readers reflect on what I have related of the fate of this family, and may our Lord Jesus Christ take them into his holy glory! amen. The only survivor, Donna Leonora one of his daughters who was saved from the torrent, has caused to be built two sepulchres in the great church of this city of Guatimala, to receive the bones of her relations.

In about a year after the death of D. Pedro de Alvarado, the Viceroy collected the best of the thirteen ships which composed his fleet, and sent them under the command of an officer named Villalobos, to make discoveries to the westward, but what the result was, I never heard. As to the expences incurred by Alvarado he never recovered any part of them, nor his family after him.

The Marquis del Valle being in Spain at the time of the expedition against Algiers, and attending his Majesty in it, with his eldest son, and also Don Martin his son by Donna Marina, the fleet was dispersed in a storm. The vessel on board which the Marquis was being stranded, he, his sons, and the other cavaliers reached the shore with very great difficulty. His servants have related, that before he quitted the vessel, he tied round his arm in a handkerchief a quantity of jewels of inestimable value, which he wore according to the custom of great lords, as we say "para no menester," or because they are not wanting, but in the confusion of quitting the vessel by some accident they were all lost. On account of this disaster to the fleet, the council of war were of opinion to raise the siege immediately. To this council the Marquis was not summoned, but he is said to have declared, that had he been present at it he would have given his vote for the

continuation of the siege, and that if it had been his fortune to have had such brave soldiers as those who first accompanied him to Mexico, he would entertain no doubt of success.

The Marquis was now grown old, and he was worn down by fatigues; he was therefore very anxious to return to New Spain, but a treaty of marriage was on foot between his eldest daughter Donna Maria Cortes, for whom he had sent to Mexico, and Don Alvaro Pinez Osorio son and heir to the Marquis of Astorga. The lady was to have a fortune of a hundred thousand ducats, and the Marquis had gone as far as Seville to meet her on her arrival in Spain, but the match was broken off, as it is said, by the fault of Don Alvaro. The Marquis was greatly displeased, and being in a bad state of health before, he declined so rapidly that he found it necessary to retire from Seville to Castileja de la Cuesta, to attend to his soul, and make his last testament. Having arranged all his affairs for this, and the next world, it was the Lord's will to take him from this troublesome state, on the second day of December one thousand five hundred and forty seven. He was buried with great pomp in the chapel of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, but his remains were afterwards, according to his will, brought to New Spain, and interred in Cuyoacan or Tezcuco, I am uncertain which. In regard to his age, I will give the best account that I am able. In the year one thousand five hundred and nineteen, when we went with him from Cuba to New Spain, he used to tell us that he was thirty four years of age; from one thousand five hundred and nineteen, to one thousand five hundred and forty seven, is a period of twenty eight years, which makes him at the time of his death exactly sixty two years old.

The legitimate children of the Marquis del Valle were, Don Martin the present Marquis, Donna Maria before mentioned who married the Count de Luna de Leon. Donna Juana, who married Don Hernando Enriquez heir to the

Marquis of Tariffa, and Donna Catalina de Arrellano, who died in Seville. These ladies came with the Marchioness from Mexico; her brother Fray Anthonio de Zuniga being sent for them. One daughter named Donna Leonora, was married in Mexico, to a rich Biscayan named Juanes de Tolosa, which alliance gave great offence to the young Marquis. He also left two natural sons, one by Donna Marina, named Don Martin, who was commander of the order of St. Jago. The other, Don Luis, who was a commander of the same order, was the son of a lady, by name, De Hermosilla. He had also three natural daughters, one by an Indian woman of Cuba, was named Donna——Pizarro; the others were by a Mexican woman. These ladies were all left great fortunes. The Marquis also having due time, took care of his soul, by discharging his sins; endowing an hospital in Mexico, and a monastery of nuns in his own town of Cuyoacan.

The motto and arms which were granted to him were well adapted to a valiant warrior. The former being in Latin I will say nothing about, because I do not understand that language. His arms were the heads of seven kings in a chain, representing Montezuma, Cacamatzin, Guatimotzin, Tulapa, Coadlavaca, and the princes of Tacuba and Cuyoacan.

I will now proceed to describe the person and disposition of the Marquis. He was of a good stature and strong build, of a rather pale complexion, and serious countenance. His features were, if faulty, rather too small; his eyes mild and grave. His beard was black, thin, and scanty; his hair in the same manner. His breast and shoulders were broad, and his body very thin. He was very well limbed, and his legs rather bowed; an excellent horseman, and dexterous in the use of arms. He also possessed the heart and mind, which is the principal part of the business. I have heard that when he was a lad in Hispaniola, he was very wild about women, and that he had several duels with able swordsmen, in which

he always came off with victory. He had the scar of a sword-wound near his under lip, which appeared through his beard if closely examined, and which he received in some of those affairs. In his appearance, manners, transactions, conversation, table, and dress, every thing bore the appearance of a great lord. His cloaths were according to the fashion of the time; he was not fond of silks, damasks, or velvets, but every thing plain, and very handsome; nor did he wear large chains of gold, but a small one of prime workmanship, bearing the image of our Lady the Blessed Virgin with her precious son in her arms, and a Latin motto; and on the reverse, St. John the Baptist with another motto. He wore on his finger a ring with a very fine diamond, and in his cap, which according to the fashion of that day was of velvet, he bore a medal, the head and motto of which I do not recollect; but latterly he wore a plain cloth cap, without any ornament.

His table was always magnificently attended and served, with four major domos or principal officers, a number of pages, and a great quantity of plate both gold and silver. He dined heartily at mid-day, and drank a glass of wine mixed with water, of about half a pint. He was not nice in his food, nor expensive, except on particular occasions where he saw the propriety of it. He was very affable with all his captains and soldiers, especially those who accompanied him in his first expedition from Cuba. He was a Latinist, and as I have been told, a bachelor in laws. He was also something of a poet, and a very good rhetorician; very devout to our Holy Virgin, and his advocates St. Peter, St. Jago, and St. John the Baptist in particular; and charitable to the poor. When he swore he used to say, "by my conscience!" and when he was angry with any of us, his friends, he would say, "oh! may you repent it." When he was very angry, the veins in his throat and forehead used to swell, and when in great wrath, he would not utter a syllable to any one. He was very patient under insults or injuries; for some of

the soldiers were at times very rude and abusive with him; but he never resented their conduct, although he had often great reason to do so. In such cases he used only to say, "be silent," or, "go away in God's name and take care not to repeat this conduct, or I will have you punished." He was very determined and headstrong in all business of war, not attending to any remonstrances on account of danger; an instance of which he shewed in the attack of those fortresses called the rocks of the Marquis; which he forced us to scale, contrary to our opinions, and where neither courage, counsel, or wisdom, could give any rational hope of success. Another instance was given by him of his obstinacy in regard to the expedition against De Oli. I repeatedly advised him to go by the mountains; but he persisted in adhering to the coast, whereas if he had gone in the direction that I proposed he would have found towns the whole way, of which the following route is a proof; Guacacualco, the high road to Chiapa, from that to Guatimala, and from thence to Naco. Where we had to erect a fortress, Cortes was the hardest labourer in the trenches; when we were going into battle, he was as forward as any.

Cortes was very fond of play, both at cards and dice, and while playing he was very affable and good humoured. He used frequently at such times, those cant expressions which persons who game are accustomed to do. In military service he practised the most strict attention to discipline, constantly going the rounds in person during the night, visiting the quarters of the soldiers, and severely reprehending those whom he found without their armour and appointments, and not ready to turn out; repeating to them the proverb, that "it is a bad sheep which cannot carry its own wool." On our expedition to Higueras I perceived that he had acquired a habit which I had never before observed in him, and it was this; after eating, if he did not get his siesta or sleep, his stomach was affected, and he fell sick. For this reason, when on the journey, let the rain be ever so heavy, or the sun ever

so hot, he always reposed for a short time after his repast, a carpet or cloak being spread under a tree, on which he lay down, and having slept a short time he mounted his horse and proceeded on his journey. When we were engaged in the wars during the conquest of New Spain, he was very thin and slender, but after his return from Higueras he grew fat, and acquired a belly. He at this time trimmed his beard which had not begun to grow white, in the short fashion. In his early life he was very liberal, but grew close, latterly; some of his servants complaining that he did not pay them as he ought, and I have also to observe that in his latter undertakings he never succeeded. Perhaps such was the will of heaven, his reward being reserved for another place; for he was a good cavalier, and very devout to the Holy Virgin, and also to St. Paul and other Holy Saints. God pardon him his sins; and me mine; and give me a good end which is better than all conquests and victories over Indians.

Chapter x.

Enumeration and account of the valiant companions who passed over to the conquest of New Spain with the most adventurous and magnanimous Don Hernando Cortes Marquis of the Valley. Advantages resulting from the conquest—Transactions at court. Concluding observations of the author.

In the list of the conquerors of Mexico the first is the Marquis Don H. Cortes; with him came the following officers and soldiers. Don P. de Alvarado, commander of St. Jago, adelantado and governor of Guatimala, Honduras, and Chiapa; he was about thirty four years of age when he came to this country, of a handsome person, very chearful countenance, and mild look; for which reason he was called by the Mexicans, "Tonatio," which signifies the sun; he was very active, and a good horseman; of a generous disposition, and courteous manners, very splendid in his dress, wearing a gold chain with a medal round his neck, and a diamond ring on his finger.

F. de Montejo was of the middle stature, of a chearful countenance, and gay disposition; at the time of his arrival here he was about thirty five years of age; he was fitter for business than war, and of a liberal turn, expending more than he received; he arrived to the dignity of adelantado and governor of Yucatan, and died in Castille.

Captain G. de Sandoval was at the time of his arrival here about twenty two years of age; he was joint governor of New Spain for about eleven months; in this officer courage and judgment were combined; he was robust in body, his legs rather bowed, and his countenance masculine; his hair and

beard were curled, and of a light brown; his voice was rough, and somewhat terrible, and he stammered a little; he was a plain man, and one who did not know much of letters, not avaritious of gold, but attentive to his business like a good officer, seeing that his soldiers did they duty well, and taking good care of them. He was not fond of rich dresses, but went plain and like a soldier. He had the best horse that ever was seen; he was a chestnut, with a star in his forehead, and his near foot white; his name was Motilla; he became a proverb, so that when any horse was extraordinarily good, we used to say he was as good as Motilla. Sandoval was an officer fit for any station; he was a native of Medellin, and an hidalgo; his father was an alcalde of a castle.

Don C. de Oli was a Hector in battle, but his judgment was not equal to his valour, and he required to be kept under command. The captains De Alvarado, De Sandoval, and De Oli, were in high estimation with his Majesty, who was pleased to say that he had three in New Spain who might be compared with the greatest the world had produced. Cortes also used to talk highly of his officers and soldiers, but what Bernal Diaz del Castillo thinks upon the subject is this; that if what Cortes afterwards said in their favour, he had written at first to his Majesty, he would have done right; but at that time he made no mention of our valiant actions, nor even our names; but only said, "this I did; this I ordered to be done;" whereas I think the least he should have done was to make mention of us. I will now return to my enumeration of our officers and soldiers.

J. V. de Leon, native of Old Castille, was about twenty seven years of age, well proportioned, and robust; his beard was red and curled, his voice rough and fierce, and he stammered a little; he was a cavalier of good manners, and generous, sharing what he had with his companions; he killed a person of consequence in the Island of Hispaniola, for which he was obliged to conceal himself, and the officers of justice never were able to apprehend him, he made such

resistance. He was most valiant both on horseback and on foot; he died at the bridge.

D. de Ordas, from the neighbourhood of Campos, was about forty years of age; he was captain of the soldiers armed with sword and buckler, not being a horseman; he was very valiant, and wise, strong, and of good stature, of a masculine countenance, and black thin beard. In speaking there were certain words which he could not pronounce; he was generous, and of good manners. He was commander of St. Jago, and governor of Maranion, where he died.

Captain L. Marin was valiant, and stout built; bow legged, with a red beard, and a full and chearful countenance, slightly marked with the small pox. He was about thirty years of age, and a native of St. Lucar, lisping a little, like the Sevillians. He was a good horseman, and of mild manners; he died in Mechoacan.

Captain P. de Ircio was of middle stature, chearful countenance, and duck legged; a great boaster of his exploits, but by what we could perceive in him good for very little; he was always repeating certain stories of the Count de Urena, and Don Pedro Giron; we used to call him Agrages without deeds; he was for a time captain under Sandoval during the siege, and died in Mexico.

A. de Avila was of a good person and countenance, clear and sensible in his conversation, very valiant, and about thirty three years of age. He was free with his companions, but proud, fond of commanding, and impatient of controll, with a considerable share of envy, and turbulence, insomuch that Cortes could not bear to have him near him; he therefore took care that he should be employed in such affairs as would draw him to a distance; he was uncle to the cavaliers the sons of Benavides, who were beheaded in Mexico; he died in that city or in Yucatan.

A. de Monjarez was of middling stature, and a good countenance; he acted as captain during the siege, but was always

an invalid; he was aged about thirty years, and died a natural death.

C. de Olea was a native of Medina Del Campo, and a most valiant soldier; he was about twenty six years of age, of the middle stature, with a masculine but pleasing countenance; his hair and beard a little curled, and a clear voice; this soldier's bravery was such that we all held him in the highest honour; he saved the life of Cortes at Suchimillico, when the enemy had seized and were carrying him off to sacrifice; and a second time upon the causeway of Mexico when he was in a still more desperate situation, being wounded and in the hands of a number of the Indians, the brave De Olea, though mortally wounded, with his sword killed and beat off every one of these who were upon Cortes, thus saving his general's life, and losing his own at the same time. When the person of this valiant soldier recurs to my mind, and the manner he used to fight at our sides, the tears flow from my eyes, for he was my towns-man, and we were related to the same families.

G. Dominguez, and Lares, were soldiers of high renown, and might be put in comparison with Olea; the first died by the fall of his horse, the second at the battle of Otumba.

A. de Tapia was aged about twenty four years, of a pale complexion and grave countenance; he was a valiant captain, and died in Mexico, a natural death.

J. de Escalante was a captain; he died at Villa Rica. F. de Lugo, a brave officer, acted as captain occasionally; he was the natural son of a wealthy gentleman at Medina del Campo; he died a natural death. Gregorio de Monjaraz; a good soldier; lost his hearing during the siege, and died a natural death. Four brothers of Don P. de Alvarado. J. Xaramillo was an officer of merit; he died a natural death. Christoval Flores, a worthy soldier. Christoval de Gamboa, equerry to Cortes. One Calcedo, a wealthy man. Francisco de Bonal, a good soldier. Maldonado, surnamed "the broad," a good soldier. Francisco Alvarez Chico, a man of

business. Francisco de Torrazas, major domo to Cortes, a person of merit. Christoval del Corral, our ensign; an officer of merit. Anthonio de Villaroel, some time ensign. Alonzo de Grado; one fitter for business than war; by his importunities he induced Cortes to give him the daughter of Montezuma in marriage. Francisco Flores, a very noble person. De Solis. There were four of this name; one was surnamed, "casquete," or "rattle-skull;" another called himself "De la Huerta;" but we called him "silk coat," because he prided himself on his dress. Another was named "De atras la Puerta," because he always sat behind the door of his house, observing the passengers in the street. Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia; a person of wealth and consequence. Juan Lopez de Ximena, alcalde major of Vera Cruz. Juan de Cuellar, a good horseman, married the handsome daughter of the Lord of Tezcuco, named Donna Anna. Another Cuellar related to F. Verdugo. Santos Hernandez, whom we used to call "the good old ranger." Pedro Moreno Medrano, alcalde in Vera Cruz, a good soldier, and an upright judge. Roman Lopez, a person of eminence. Juan de Limpias Caravajal, grew deaf during the siege, where he was captain of a vessel. Melchor de Galvez. Villandrando, said to have been related to the Count of Ribadeo. Ossorio, a good soldier. Rodrigo de Castaneda, a good soldier. Juan de Naxara, a good soldier. Ojeda, who lost an eye during the siege. Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero, cousin to the Count of Medellin. Hernando Burgueno, a good soldier. Tirado de la Puebla, a man of business. Hernandes de Alanis, a very brave soldier. Navarrete. Juan Flamenco. Francisco del Barco, promoted to be a captain. Juan Perez, who killed his wife, the daughter of La Baguera. Najara, "the hump backed," a most valiant soldier. Madrid, "the hump backed;" a very valiant soldier. Juan de Inhiesta. De Alamilla, a good crossbow-man. Moron; a fine musician. De Varela; a good soldier. De Villafuerte; a person of consequence, married to a relation of the first wife of

Cortes. Gutierrez. Pacheco; a person of distinction. Hernando de Lerma, or de Lema; a captain. Suarez the elder, who killed his wife with a blow of a hand-mill. Lasios, who had a suit about his district. Garci Caro. One Ximenes. Amaya. Two Carmenos, brothers. One Vargas. Polanco. Juan de Aragon. St. Estevan. Bernardino de Coria. Rodorigo Rangel. Almodova, his son, and nephew. A reverend father of the order of mercy, named Fra Bartholome de Olmedo; a great theologian, a fine singer, and a virtuous man. Two nephews of Alonzo Hernandez de Palo. Christoval Diaz; a good crossbow-man. Juan Siciliano. Diego de Coria. Juan Sedeno. Saragossa, father to the scrivener in Mexico. Diego Martin de Agamante, a good soldier. Diego Hernandez, lost his sight; he was an assistant shipwright. Alvaro Lopez. One Yanez who went to Higueras; during his absence his wife took another husband with whom he left her. Martin de Alpedrino, Juan Alvarez Rubazo, Gonzalez Sanchez, brave men, all Portugueze. One Avila. One Espinosa, surnamed "De la buena benedicion," from his often using the word. Peron de Toledo. One San Juan. Aparicio Martin. Izguierdo; a good soldier. Morrales, an old man, lame of a leg, alcalde in ordinary at Villa Rica, and a strict doer of justice. Arevalo, Juan Leon, Madrigal; inhabitants of Villa Rica; never were on service. Navarro. Manzanilla, an Indian of the islands. Benito Vejel, a drummer who had served in Italy. Alonzo Romero. Pedro Lopez; a good soldier. Juan Garcia, Hernan Martin, and another; smiths. Alvaro Gallego. Pedro de Tapia. Lorenzo Ginoves. Ochoa; a rich and eminent person. Martin Vasquez, a man of eminence. Sebastian Rodriguez, a crossbow-man and Trumpeter. Penalosa. Juan Perez Artiaga, surnamed "Malintzin;" a rich man. Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote, a good soldier. Aguilar whom we found at the point of Cotoche; a good soldier. Pedro Valenciano. One Tariffa. Another of that name called by us "the meritorious," because he was always bragging of what he had

done, and that he had not been properly rewarded; a prating fellow. Pedro Sanchez Farfan; a brave soldier; he acted as captain. Escobar the bachelor, apothecary, surgeon, and physician; he went mad. Juan de Caceres the rich. Gonzalo Hurones. Ramirez the elder. Astorga. Tostado. Pedro Valencia. Fray Juan de las Varillas, of the order of mercy; a good theologian, and a virtuous man. Those enumated above all died naturally. Francisco de Saucedo, called "the gallant." Francisco de Morla, a very brave soldier. De Lares, a good soldier and horseman. Another of that name. De Solis, an old man. Benitez, a brave man. Juan Ruano, a good soldier. Two nephews of Gonzales de Najara. Gonzalo Dominguez, very brave and an excellent horseman. One De Mora, a good soldier. Juan Alvarez Chico. A good soldier who had lost one hand in Castille by the course of justice. One Tobillo, lame, as he said by a wound received while serving under the great captain. Gonzalo Lopez de Ximena. One Pilar, a good linguist. Alonzo Luis, a good soldier; being very tall he was called "the infant." Alonzo de Monroy, a good soldier, son of a commander of St. Stephen; he went under the name of Salamanca. Juan Rico de Alanis, a good soldier. Martin de Vendabal. Pedro Gallego. Three soldiers of the name of Truxillo, brave men. De Valladolid. De Angulo. Francisco Gutierrez. Santa Clara. One Ximenes. Two brothers of the name of Florin. One Vargas. One De Cieza, remarkable for pitching a bar. Bartholome Pardo. Arbolanche, a very brave soldier. A nephew of one Almodovar. Two brothers by name Martinez; brave men. Sancho de Avila who is said to have brought six thousand crowns in gold to Castille from St. Domingo, having had the luck to fall on some very rich mines there; he lost the whole at play and then joined us. Alonzo Hernandez de Palo, Alonzo de la Mesta, and Rabanal Montanez, good soldiers. Retamales: Gines Nortes, a brave soldier. Luis Alonzo, an excellent swordsman. Alonzo Catalan, a good soldier. Canillas, a

drummer, and a good soldier, having served in Italy. Hernandez, secretary to Cortes. Juan Diaz, belonged to the general's household. Balnor. Cardenas, who said he was son to a commander. Arguello, a good soldier. Vasquez, a brave soldier. Arroyuelo. Pizarro; a relation of Cortes, acted as captain; his name was not then remarkable, nor had Peru been heard of. Magellanes, a brave soldier, a Portugueze, as was another, a goldsmith. One Avila. Two of the name of Espinosa. One of the name of San Juan, called "the lofty," from his presumptuousness. Caceres, a good soldier. Escanola the younger. Alonzo de Talavera, a good soldier. An Indian of the islands named Manzanilla. Galleguillo, a very little man. A smith whose name I forget. Paredes. Gonzalo Mexia Rapapello, who said he was descended from the corsair of that name in the reign of King John. Lucas Ginoves. Cervantes, a buffoon. Plazuela. Alonzo Perez Maite, a brave soldier, married to a handsome Indian of the islands. Alonzo de Escobar, a person of consideration, formerly page to Velasquez. Ponce. Mendez. An old crossbow-man a great card player whose name I forget. The page Orteguilla and his father. Gaona. Luis Farfan. Morillas. One of the Tostados. Porras, a fine singer, with a very fair complexion. Ortiz; he played on the fiddle and taught dancing. Serrano, a good soldier. Quintero. Andres de Mola. Alberza, a good soldier. Most of these lost their lives at the bridge, were sacrificed, or fell in battle.

Simon de Cuenca was killed at Xicalonga, with ten more soldiers. Francisco de Medina died in the hands of the Indians with fifteen more. One De la Serna, who discovered silver mines, I do not know what is become of him. Martin Lopez, the ship carpenter who rendered such eminent services; he is now living in Mexico. One Granado is now living in Mexico. Villa Lobos returned rich to Castille. Juan del Rio returned to Castille. Juan Gomez returned rich to Castille. Herman Lopez de Avila, a trustee of the effects

of the dead, returned very rich to Castille. Pedro Escudiro, Juan Cermeno, and his brother, all good soldiers. Gonzalo de Umbria a pilot. Francisco de Orozco; had been a soldier in Italy, and acted as captain during the siege of Mexico; I know nothing more of him. Mesa had been a canonier in Italy; was drowned in crossing a river, after the conquest. Luis Velasquez, and Martin Valenciano, died in the expedition to Higueras. Alonzo de Barrientos, Juan del Puerto a good soldier, died of disease. Pedro de Guzman, a brave soldier; it is said that on his journey to Peru, he and his whole family, servants and horses, were frozen to death. Cardenas; this was he who talked of the two kings; he was very troublesome to Cortes. The Emperor made him a grant of lands worth a thousand crowns a year, with which he returned to Mexico, but shortly after, died. Los Villanuevas; two brothers; Portugueze; I do not know what became of them. Villocinda, a brave soldier, put on the Franciscan habit. Alonzo de Herrera, a good soldier, he fought with Captain Figuero, and to avoid the vengeance of the treasurer, fled to the Indians of Maronon, by whom he was killed. Figuero was drowned going to Castille. Maldonado de Medellin, I do not know what became of him.

Lencero, a good soldier, had an inn on the road to Vera Cruz, turned friar. Sindos de Portillo, possessed large estates, which he sold, giving the money to the poor, and taking orders, led a holy life. Quintero a good soldier, attained great wealth, which he renounced for God's sake, and taking the Franciscan habit, led a holy life. Alonzo de Aguilar owned the inn between Vera Cruz and La Puebla; a rich man; he sold all his property for the service of God, and putting on the Dominican habit, led a holy life. Burguillos, a rich man, renounced his property, and entered the order of St. Francis, which he afterwards quitted. Escalante, a good soldier, of a gay disposition; he put on the Franciscan habit, but afterwards quitted the monastery, and entered again into the military service; but, in the course of

a month, resumed his friar's habit, and led a holy life. Gaspar Diaz, a wealthy man, renounced all for God's sake, and retired to the pine woods of Guaxocingo, where, in the most retired part, he made a hermitage for himself; in this course of life he reduced his body to a very weak state, by fasting and penance, and the fame of his austerities reaching the Bishop Juan de Zumarraga, he entreated him not to carry them to such an extreme. Several other persons also joined him, being induced by his example to lead holy lives; at the end of about four years, it was God's will to take them all from this world, to his heavenly glory. Lerma; a very valiant soldier; it was he who rendered such essential service to Cortes, in once saving his life; Lerma was afterwards obliged to fly, and seek refuge among the Indians from this very Cortes whom he had preserved, and who was exasperated against him, for reasons which, from regard to his honour, I will not mention; we never knew what became of him, but our suspicions were very bad. Pinedo, a good soldier, had been educated in the house of Velasquez; on the arrival of Narvaez, quitting Mexico to join him, he was way-laid and killed on the road by Indians; Cortes was suspected of having a hand in his death.

One Lopez, returned to Hispaniola. Alaminos and his son, Camacho de Triano, Alvarez de Huelva, Sopuerto del Condado, Cardinas, Umbria, Galdin, and several others, all pilots; Sopuerto, only, remained in Mexico; the rest being in dread of Cortes, because they had offered their services to Garray. Enreque, drowned himself, from despair and fatigue on a march. Zemudio, a very brave soldier, returned to Old Spain, on account of having wounded several persons in frays; he was there given the command of a company; he died in Locastil with many other Spanish cavaliers. Tariffa, the third of that name, called by us "of the white hands," because he was not fit either for war or labour; or any thing else except to prate about what had happened to him in Seville; he and his horse were drowned on

the march to Higueras. Escobar, a brave man but very turbulent; he was hanged for sedition and for violating a married woman. St. Jago, returned rich to Castille. Alonzo de Escobar, a person of estimation, formerly page to Velasquez. Saldanha and two more whose names I forget were killed in Tabasco. De Rojas, went to Peru. Guillen de la Loa, Andrez Nunez, Maisse Pedro el de la Harpa, and three more; the first died by a cannon shot, the others by the enemy, or course of nature. Alonzo Rodriguez, left good mines in Cuba; was killed at the rocks, together with Gaspar Sanchez, a brave man, nephew to the treasurer of Cuba, and six of the soldiers of Narvaez. Pedro de Palma, first husband of Elvira Lopez "the tall," was hanged together with a soldier named Trebejo, and a priest, for sedition, by Avila or Las Casas, after the death of De Oli, under whom they served; I was shewn the tree whereon they were executed, when returning from Higueras with Captain Marin. Many sea-faring men also came with us, and behaved very bravely in the wars, but not recollecting their names I do not put them down; I should run indeed into too great prolixity if I were enumerate and describe all the valiant soldiers who passed over with Cortes; but they were worthy to be recorded in letters of gold.

Last of all I put down myself, having been in this country antecedent to the coming of Cortes twice, and the third time with him, as I have related; and I give thanks and praise to our Lord God, and his Holy Mother the Virgin Mary, who preserved me from being sacrificed like the most of my companions, that I might now relate and make manifest our heroic actions, and enumerate by name our valiant captains and soldiers, who conquered this new world, thereby to prevent all the honour and merit from being unjustly ascribed to one person.

Of those who came with Narvaez, although several were very valiant men, I will say nothing, because my intention in writing this history, was but to record the heroic actions of

the soldiers of Cortes. I will therefore only describe Narvaez himself.

Narvaez was about forty two years of age, of tall stature and large limbs, a full face, and red beard, and agreeable presence; very sonorous and lofty in his speech, as if the sound came out of a vault; a good horseman, and said to be valiant. He was a native of Valladolid, or Tudela de Duero, and married to a lady named Maria de Valenzuela. He had a considerable property in the Island of Cuba, where he was a captain. One of his eyes was beaten out in the attack which we made upon him. This gentleman was said to be very close in his disposition. He went to Castille to lay his complaints against us before his Majesty, and obtained a royal grant of a government in Florida, where he was lost and all his property. Those who read the particulars of so many gallant officers and soldiers, such as I have now described them, frequently ask me how it happened that I should remember them perfectly, after the lapse of so many years. To which I reply, that it is natural enough that I should recollect the names of five hundred and fifty companions who were always together, in expeditions, in watches, in battles, and in skirmishes, and conversing with each other how such a one had been killed at such a place, and how others were carried off to be sacrificed. For this was the manner in which we communicated with each other, especially after we had come out of a bloody and doubtful battle. And there have been generals who knew the soldiers of their armies personally, even when there were as many as thirty thousand men; so says history of Mithridates king of Pontus, and another king of the Epirots, and of Alexander, and Hannibal of Carthage, and in our times of the valiant Gonzalo de Cordova called the great captain, and many others. I say farther, that I have their figures so perfectly pourtrayed in my imagination, that I could draw them as it were to the life, each of them in the manner he entered into battle, like the great Apelles, and these famous modern

painters Michael Angelo, or the far celebrated Burgales, who is said to be another Apelles. Glory be to God, and the Holy Virgin, who saved me from being sacrificed to idols, to make those things known!

Having enumerated the soldiers who passed with Cortes, and related in what manner they died, I have now to observe, that we were for the most part hidalgos, although some were not of such clear lineage as others, for all cannot be alike in this world, either in rank or in virtues. But whatever may have been the dignity of our birth, we made ourselves much more illustrious by our heroic actions in the conquest of this country, at our own proper cost, and without any support save that of our Lord Jesus Christ who is the true aid and succour. If we look into the antient history of our own country, we shall then see that many cavaliers arose to dignity and honours, by valiant and faithful services to their king; and I have observed that those who thus obtained these titles and dignities, did not go into the field without receiving pay and salaries for their service; and yet they were rewarded with houses and castles, and lands, and privileges, to them and their descendents in perpetuity. Also when his Majesty Don Jayme won parts of his kingdom from the Moors, he made grants thereof to those cavaliers who had assisted him in the conquest, from which period they derive their honours and blazons. Those also who served under the great captain and the Prince of Orange were rewarded in like manner, and we, even without his Majesty's knowledge, by our valour gained him this great country. I have here recalled this to recollection, that the world may consider and see our manifold, and good, and notable, and loyal services, to God and the King, and all Christendom, and let them be put in a ballance and weighed, and let it be decided if we are not as worthy of rewards and remunerations, as those cavaliers whom I have mentioned above. And as amongst those whom I have enumerated there were many valiant

companions, I was held in no inconsiderable degree of estimation in my day as a soldier.

Now curious reader reflect on my life, and in how many battles and dangers I have been, since I first came to this country, and how I was twice in the hands of the enemy who were carrying me off to sacrifice, and God gave me force to escape out of their clutches; besides the distresses by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, which occur to all who undertake discoveries in unknown countries.

It is now proper that I should relate the good effects of our exertions for the service of God and his Majesty, by our illustrious conquests, in which most of our companions lost their lives, being sacrificed to the idols Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatepuca. In the first place, we purged the land of its wickedness and evil customs, as for instance that of human sacrifice. By the accounts taken by certain reverend Franciscan fathers, the first who came here after Fray Bartholome de Olmedo, it appears, that in the city of Mexico, and some adjacent towns in the lake, they sacrificed every year above two thousand five hundred human beings, young and old. Of course in the whole extent of the country the number thus put to death annually, must have been much greater. Their various horrid practices of this nature exceed the powers of my pen to describe. Their cursed adoratories were so many that I bestow on all of them a hearty malediction; it seems to me that they resembled what we have in Castille, for as we see there in every city, holy churches, and hermitages, and chapels, so they had in this country their houses of idols, devils, and diabolical figures. Besides these, each native, male or female, had two altars, one by the place where he or she slept, the other at the door of the house, with chests containing idols large and small, stones, and stone knives, with books made of the bark of trees, in which were noted down their records of past times. They were much addicted to abominable practices, especially upon the coast,

and in the sultry provinces, where boys wore female attire. They eat human flesh, as we do beef which we buy in the market, and in every town they had wooden cages, wherein they kept and fattened those men, women, and children, who were destined for that purpose, as was the case with all those whom they took in their wars. Incest was common amongst them; and they were drunkards in an extreme. In the province of Panuco in particular, they took the wine into their bodies in the manner a medicine is administered, by means of a hollow cane; an unheard-of beastliness! They had as many wives as they pleased, and all these, and other abominations, it was the will of our Lord Jesus Christ that we should be the instruments to sweep from the land, substituting in their places, a good policy and the holy doctrine. It is true that after the lapse of two years, when the country was subjugated and civilized, certain worthy fathers Franciscans, of good example and doctrine came here, and were followed in three or four years by fathers of the order of St. Dominic, who completed what others had begun, but if it is duly considered it will appear that the meed and honour of destroying the evil customs of the land, in justice belongs to us the true conquerors, in preference to any other persons, even though they should be of the holy profession.

Since the destruction of idolatry, by the will of God, and with his holy aid, and the good fortune and sacred christianity of the most christian Emperor Don Carlos of glorious memory, and of our monarch and most fortunate sovereign, the invincible King of Spain, our lord Don Philip his dear and much beloved son, to whom may God grant years, and much increase of dominion, to be enjoyed by him during his fortunate and holy life, and to be transmitted from him to his posterity, there have been baptized in this country, all the natives, whose souls formerly were sunk and lost in the infernal pit. At present also as there are here many reverend fathers of the different orders, they go through the country preaching and baptizing, whereby the holy Evan-

gelists are firmly planted in the hearts of the natives, who confess every year, and those sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of the faith comulgate. The churches also and their altars are richly adorned, with all requisites for holy worship, as, crosses, and candlesticks, wax candles, chalices, cups, plates, and vessels for incense, all of silver. The ornaments of the altars and crosses are of velvet and damask, and other rich materials of various colours and workmanship, and embroidered with gold, silk, and pearls. The funerals also are distinguished by their emblematic representations of skulls and bones, and with their palls, some good, and others not so. Each town also has its bells, according to its ability. There are choirs also in the chapels, of good voices which sing in concert, tenors, and trebles, and counter-altos. In some places are organs, and most have flutes, hautbois, sackbuts, dulcimers, with trumpets base and treble, more in this one province of Guatimala than there are in my native country, which is Old Castille. It is a thing worthy to thank God on to see the devotion which the natives exhibit when at holy mass, especially if it is said by fathers of the orders of St. Francis, or of Mercy, who are appointed to the cures of parishes. All the natives also, men, women, and children, are taught the holy orations in their mother tongue, and when they pass a cross, crucifix, or altar, they bow, and falling on their knees say a Pater Noster or Ave Maria. We, the conquerors also taught them to keep wax candles lighted before the holy altars and crosses, for before our arrival they did not know the use of wax in making candles. We also taught them to behave with respect to the reverend fathers, and when they came to their towns, to go out to meet and receive them with lighted wax candles, ringing the bells, and giving them plentifully to eat; and thus they do. They have also other holy and good customs, for on the day of our Lady, or of Corpus Christi, and other solemn feasts, when we make processions, most of the neighbours of this city of Guatimala go in procession with crosses

and lighted candles, bearing the image of the saint who is their patron or patroness, as richly dressed as they can afford; and they go singing the litanies, and other holy orations, and sound their flutes and trumpets.

The natives of these countries have also learned the trades used amongst us in Castille, and have their shops, manufactories, and journeymen, and gain their livelihood thereby. The gold and silversmiths work both in cast metal, and by the hammer, and excel, as do the lapidaries and painters. The engravers execute first rate works, with their fine instruments of iron, especially upon emeralds, whereon they represent all the acts of the holy passion of our redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, in such a manner that those who had not seen them execute it, would not believe that such works could be done by Indians; insomuch that according to my judgment, that famous painter of ancient times the renowned Apelles, or the modern ones named Michael Angelo and Berruguete, and another a native of Burgos who is in great fame, being as they say a second Apelles, could not with their subtle pencils equal the works which are done by three Mexican artists named Andres de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Crespillo. In addition to all these things, the sons of the chiefs used to be grammarians, and were learning very well, until they were forbidden by the holy synod, under an order of the most reverend archbishop of Mexico, but many of them are now, notwithstanding, literate. They are also weavers of silk, stuffs, and cloths, and manufacturers thereof, through all the various stages. They have also learned to be hatters and soap boilers. Two trades only could never be acquired by them; one is, that of making glass, the other that of the apothecary; but this is not owing to any defect of natural genius, for they are surgeons, and herbalists, jugglers, and makers of puppets, and of violins. Tillers of land they were before our arrival; and now they rear stock, and break bullocks, and plow, sow wheat, manure, reap, sell, and make bread and biscuit. They have planted their lands and

inheritances with the fruit trees of Old Spain, and sell the fruit, cutting down the unwholesome peach trees, and overshading plantains, to make room for quince, apple, and pear trees, which they hold in high estimation. We have taught them also laws and justice, and in consequence, they every year elect their ordinary alcaldes, regidors, notaries, alguazils, fiscals, and major domos. They have their halls of common council, with bailiffs, where they meet two days in the week, judging, and sentencing, and for some offences punishing and whipping; but for murder and higher crimes, they refer them to the governors, if there is no court of royal audience.

I have further been told by persons well informed upon the subject, that in Tlascala, Tezcuco, Cholula, Guaxocingo, Tepeaca, and other great cities, when the natives go to council, gilt maces are borne before the governors and alcaldes, as is done before the viceroys, and they do justice with as much zeal and activity as is used among us, priding themselves thereon, and being very anxious to obtain a knowledge of our laws.

All the caciques have horses and are rich, and ride, handsomely caparisoned and attended by their pages, through and about their respective towns. In some towns also they exercise with the lance on horseback, run at the ring, and have bull fights, especially on the days of Corpus Christi, St. John, St. James, our Lady in August, or the patron or patroness of the town. Many also of them will face the bulls be they ever so fierce, and are excellent horsemen, especially those of a place named Chiapa de los Indios. Those who are caciques now breed horses, and use them and mules for ordinary purposes, conveying by their means, wood, maiz, and lime for sale. Many of the natives have likewise taken up the trade of arrieros or carriers, as is in practice in Castille. To conclude, they excel in all manufactures, not excepting that of tapestry.

Other advantages and profits are also derived from our illustrious services. By them our mother country has ob-

tained gold, silver, precious stones, grain, wool, sarsaparilla, and hides; all which are annually transmitted thither to the benefit of his Majesty's revenue. I do not include the presents we at various times sent, and that which is exported by merchants and passengers, for since the time that the wise King Solomon built the holy temple of Jerusalem with the gold and silver which he caused to be brought from the Islands of Tarsis, Ofir, and Saba, ancient or modern history do not record such treasures to have been derived from any country, as what have been sent from New Spain; and this I say, because although it is notorious that from Peru many millions in gold and silver have been obtained, yet at the time of the conquest of this country Peru was unknown, nor was it gained until ten years after. We also from the first continued to send to his Majesty most rich presents, for which and other reasons, I rate this country higher in estimation, because we well know that Peru has been involved in cruel civil wars, whereas we have remained, and will continue to do so, our breasts prostrate on the earth in submission and allegiance to our lord the King, and ready to expose and devote our lives and fortunes in his service.

Let the curious reader consider the number of cities of New Spain, which from their being so many, I will not detail; our ten bishoprics, not including the archbishopric of the noble city of Mexico, the three courts of royal audience, together with the succession of governors, archbishops, and bishops, our holy cathedrals and monasteries, Dominican, Franciscan, Mercenarian, and Augustin, our hospitals with the extensive remissions and pardons attached to them, and the Santa Casa of our Lady of Guadeloupe with the holy miracles there performed every day, and let us give thanks to God, and to his blessed mother our Lady, for giving us grace and support to conquer these countries, where so much christianity is now established.

Let it be also remembered, that in Mexico there is a university wherein are studied and learned grammar, theology,

rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and other sciences. There is also a printing press for books both in Latin and Romance, and in this college they graduate as licentiates and doctors; to which I might add many other instances to enhance the value of these countries, such as the mines of silver, and other discoveries, whereby prosperity and grandeur redound to the mother country. If all which I have now said does not suffice, let the wise and learned read my history from beginning to end, and they will then confess, that there never existed in the world men who by bold atchievement have gained more for their Lord and King, than we the brave conquerors; amongst the most valiant of whom I was considered as one, and am the most ancient of all. I say again that I,—I myself,—I, am a true conqueror: and the most ancient of all.

I will now propose a few questions by way of dialogue, with the immortal and illustrious goddess of Fame, who has seen, and proclaims through the world, our manifold, great, and remarkable services, to God, his Majesty and all Christendom, and cries with a loud voice, saying, that it is in justice and in reason, that we should have better estates and situations than others who have not served his Majesty here or elsewhere. The goddess also enquires where are our palaces, and mansions, adorned with distinguishing blazons, with sculptures of our coats of arms, and monumental trophies of our heroic actions, in the same manner as those cavaliers have who served their king in Spain, our atchievements being no way inferior to theirs, but on the contrary of most eminent merit, and not exceeded by any. The goddess of Fame also enquires for those conquerors who escaped from cruel deaths, and for the tombs and monuments of those who fell.

To these questions I reply as follows, with much brevity. Oh excellent and illustrious Fame! desired and sought for by the good and virtuous, but shunned and hated by the malicious, why do you not exalt us as our merits deserve? know, goddess, that of five hundred and fifty soldiers who

left the Island of Cuba with Cortes, at the moment that I am writing this history in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty eight no more than five are living, the rest having been killed in the wars, sacrificed to idols, or died naturally. In answer to your question concerning their tombs and monuments, I tell you that their tombs are the maws of cannibal Indians, who devoured their limbs, and of tigers, serpents, and birds of prey, which feasted on their mangled bodies. Such were their sepulchres, and such their monuments! but to me it appears that the names of those ought to be written in letters of gold, who died so cruel a death, for the service of God and his Majesty, to give light to those who were in darkness, and to procure wealth which all men desire.

The illustrous goddess next asks me for an account of those who came with Narvaez, and with Garray; to which I reply, that the number of the soldiers who came with the former was one thousand three hundred exclusive of the mariners, of whom not more than ten or eleven survive, the rest having fallen in the wars, and being sacrificed and devoured. Those who came with Garray, according to my account, including the three companies which landed at St. Juan de Ulua previous to the arrival of Garray himself, were in all one thousand two hundred soldiers, most of whom were sacrificed and devoured in the province of Panuco. Fame also asks for the fifteen soldiers who accompanied Lucas Vasquez de Aillon who lost his life on the coast of Florida; to which I reply that they are all dead. I also inform you Oh excellent Fame! that there only remain alive at this moment five of the companions of Cortes, and we are very old, and bowed down with infirmities, and very poor, and with a heavy charge of sons to provide for, and of daughters to marry off, and grandchildren to maintain, and little rent to do it withall! and thus we pass our lives, in pain, in labour, and in sorrow.

Having now answered your questions illustrious Fame

relative to our monuments, blazons, and palaces, I request of you that henceforward you exalt to more effect your most virtuous and excellent voice, in order that our high prowesses may be made known to the universe, and not be obscured as they are by the slanders of the malignant. To this my request most virtuous Fame replies, that she will do so most willingly; and also, that she is astonished to find that we have not the best properties allotted to us in that country which we conquered, and which it was his Majesty's orders should be given to us, in like manner as the Marquis Cortes was rewarded, not indeed to the same extent, but moderately. The goddess also says that the actions of the valiant and magnanimous Cortes are always to be most highly estimated, and considered amongst those most celebrated in history. She also at the same time observes, that in the histories of Gomara and the Doctor Illescas and others, no mention is made of any of us, but they only say, "Cortes discovered," and "Cortes conquered;" the captains and soldiers remaining unnoticed; but she.has been very happy to find that all which I have narrated in my history is strictly conformable to the truth, and that I follow matter of fact closely and literally, without running into servile praises, and that I do not depreciate many valiant captains and soldiers to exalt one, as is the case with Gomara and the other historians. The good goddess also promises me, that she will proclaim these truths wherever she shall be, and further, that if this my history is published, it shall be credited, and its authenticity acknowledged wherever it is seen or heard, and that it shall obscure and annull all others.

Besides what I have here proposed by way of dialogue, a certain doctor, an oydor of the court of royal audience of Guatimala, asked me how it happened that when Cortes wrote to his Majesty, and also when he went the first time to Castille, he did not solicit for us, since we were, under God, the means whereby he acquired his marquisate and government. To this I then replied, and now say, that when his

Majesty gave him the government, he therewith received the better part of this whole country, believing that he was to remain absolute master thereof, and to have unlimited liberty to bestow or deprive as he thought proper; and this, it is supposed, was the reason why he would not and did not write on the subject. Also, at the time his Majesty gave him his marquisate, he solicited the government in the same manner that he had held it before; but it was then refused him, and he did not think of asking any thing that might be serviceable to us, but only to himself.

Further, the veedor and factor, together with other cavaliers of Mexico had represented to his Majesty, that the Marquis had taken for himself the best provinces and towns of New Spain, and had assigned others to his friends and relations newly come from Castille, leaving very little for the royal patrimony; whereupon, as we afterwards learned, his Majesty was pleased to order that all the overplus should be divided amongst us, the companions of Cortes, but the Emperor was at that time in Barcelona, preparing to embark for Flanders. Had Cortes immediately after the conquest divided this country into five parts, and assigned one of the richest and best of the fifths for his Majesty; allotted one share and a half for himself, for churches, monasteries, and municipal properties, as also for a fund wherefrom his Majesty could reward cavaliers who served him in Italy or against the Turks and Moors; and divided the other two fifths and a half, by grants in perpetuity to us, we should have been all satisfactorily provided for. As our Cæsar was so christian a monarch, and as the conquest of this country cost him nothing, he would have readily granted us these favours. But we at that time did not know how to apply for justice, nor to whom to represent our services or our injuries, except to Cortes himself, who did in the business as he thought fit. We therefore remained with the little which had been assigned us, until we saw that Don Francisco de Montejo who went to wait upon his Majesty in Europe

obtained the appointments of adelantado and governor of Yucatan, estates in Mexico, and other rewards. Diego de Ordas also, who went to court, obtained an encomienda of St. Jago, and districts in New Spain. Then Don Pedro de Alvarado went to kiss his Majesty's feet and was made adelantado and governor of Guatimala and Chiapa, commander of the order of St. Jago, and obtained districts of lands. Last went Cortes, who was created a marquis, and appointed captain general of the South Sea.

When we the conquerors therefore saw, that those who did not reach his Majesty's presence had no one to speak in our favour, we sent to petition that whatever lands thenceforward fell vacant, should be distributed in perpetuities amongst us, according as our claims were substantiated, as was the case before the first court of royal audience held in Mexico, whereof Nuno de Guzman was president. His Majesty's express directions to Nuno de Guzman were, to throw the whole property of New Spain into a mass, and then to make the divisions more equal, deducting in due proportion from the immoderate grants of Cortes. Also, that to us, the true conquerors should be given the best districts and of most rent, leaving the cities and great towns for his Majesty's property. The Emperor also ordered that the vassals of Cortes should be counted, leaving no more with him than his patent specified; but what was to be done with the surplus I do not recollect. The reason why Nuno de Guzman and the oydors did not make this repartition in perpetuity was, that they were misled by bad advisers, whom, not to dishonour, I will not name, but the persons I have alluded to told them, that if the conquerors once found themselves provided for, they would cease to respect and be dependent on them, as was the case while they were compelled to supplicate for a subsistence. As also, by retaining, they kept the power of bestowing the vacant lands at their pleasure, and to the advantage of their own private interest. It is true that as districts fell vacant, Guzman and the oydors

constantly assigned them to conquerors, and colonists, to their satisfaction; and if that court was superceded, it was on account of the disputes with Cortes, and of marking free Indians for slaves.

In the year one thousand five hundred and fifty, I being in Old Spain, the licentiate De la Gasca came from Peru, and with him D. Martin el Regente a Dominican friar; and repairing to the court which was then at Valladolid, his Majesty promoted the aforesaid father to the bishopric of Las Charcas. At this period a council was formed, composed of D. Fray B. de las Casas bishop of Chiapa, D. Vasco de Quiroga bishop of Mechoacan, and other cavaliers who came as agents from New Spain and Peru, together with some hidalgos who were brought by business to the court, and to this council I was also called, as being the most ancient of the conquerors of New Spain.

De la Gasca and the other Peruvians had brought with them great quantities of treasure, as well for their own use as for his Majesty, the latter being sent from Seville to Augusta in Germany where the Emperor then was, and in his company our most happy Don Philip king of the Spains, our lord his dear and much beloved son, whom God guard. At that time certain of the Peruvian cavaliers waited on his Majesty with the treasure, and to petition that he would cause the allotment of lands in perpetuity to be made. It seems also, that previous to this time a petition to the same effect had been presented from New Spain by Gonzalo Lopez, and Alonzo de Villanueva, who had been sent as procuradors or agents from Mexico. It so happened that just then the bishopric of Palencia fell vacant, and was bestowed on the licentiate De la Gasca who was also made Conde de Pernia, on account, as was said at the court, of the services rendered in Peru, which was then at peace.

His Majesty was pleased, in regard to the repartition of lands in perpetuity, to order, that the Marquis de Mondejar president of the royal council of the Indies, the licentiates

Gutierre Velasquez, Tello de Sandoval, Gregorio Lopez and Briviesca, and the Doctor Hernan Perez de la Fuente, oydors of that court, together with cavaliers of other royal councils should assemble, to consider, and see how the repartition should be made, as was best for the service of God and for his Majesty's interest.

When these cavaliers were met in the house of Pero Gonzalez de Leon, where was established the royal council of the Indies, it was proposed in that very illustrious assembly, that the perpetual repartition should take place in New Spain and in Peru; I am not certain that Grenada and Bobotan were included, but am inclined to think that they were, and the reasons offered in support of the measure were holy and good. It was argued that if the lands were granted in perpetuity, the proprietors would for their own interests treat the natives better, and pay more attention to the conversion of them to our holy faith. That if they suffered from sickness or misfortune they would be attended to like their children, and the rents alleviated. The proprietors would also go into improvements, planting vines and breeding cattle; disputes and litigations about lands and boundaries would cease, and the office of visitadors or inspectors would be unnecessary. The minds also of the soldiers would be tranquillized, in knowing that the presidents and governors had not the power of bestowing lands when they fell vacant, on their clients and favourites. His Majesty also in doing this would exonerate his royal conscience, in recompensing those who had served him faithfully. To these, many other good reasons were added. It was also proposed to deprive the turbulent and rebellious in Peru of their districts. After all this had been well debated and considered in the illustrious assembly, we proceeded to give our opinions in favour of the perpetual repartition.

It was then opposed by the Bishop of Chiapa, his associate Fray Rodrigo of the order of St. Dominic, the Bishop of Palencia, the Marquis of Mondejar, and two oydors of the

royal council of his Majesty. The Marquis of Mondejar did not however speak upon the occasion, but remained as it were on the look out to see which party was likely to carry the question. The arguments used by the others against the repartition were, that many in Peru had now life estates, who so far from deserving perpetuities, merited confiscation, and that if peace was once established in that country, if the soldiers who were unprovided for saw that there was no fund for that purpose, they would become mutinous and cause new troubles. The Bishop of Mechoacan who was of our party hereupon asked the licentiate De la Gasca, how it had happened that he did not chastize the mutineers as he very well knew them; whereas on the contrary he had given them lands. To this the other replied, laughing, that he had hanged and quartered many of them, and thought it no small atchievement to have escaped from amongst them safe and sound. More was also said on this subject.

It was proposed, and approved by many present, that the few of the real conquerors of New Spain who now remained, including those who came with Cortes, with Narvaez, and with Garray, should receive perpetuities, referring the other matter to future consideration. As soon as this proposition was made, the other party moved that all further proceedings should be postponed until the return of his Majesty to Castille, because in an affair of such importance his presence was necessary. It was then urged by the Bishop of Mechoacan and other cavaliers, as well as myself, that the perpetuities might be granted in New Spain, leaving the Peruvian procuradors to act as they thought fit, this being conformable to his Majesty's declarations and instructions in our favour. This now brought on much debate; for we insisted that whatever reasons might be against the granting perpetuities in Peru, could be of no avail against us in New Spain, considering our great services to his Majesty and all Christendom. But all we said was of no effect with the members of the royal council of the Indies, the Bishop Fray Bartholome de

las Casas, Fray Rodrigo his associate, and the Bishop of Las Charcas. They said that on the return of his Majesty from Augusta in Germany every thing should be arranged to the satisfaction of the conquerors, and thus the affair dropped for the present.

Intelligence of these matters being conveyed by express to Mexico, the conquerors there proposed to send procuradors, to apply to his Majesty for our interest, exclusively. In consequence, after my return from the court I was written to, here, in the city of Guatimala, by Captain Andres de Tapia, P. Moreno Medrano, and J. de Limpias Caravajal "the deaf," giving me an account of their intention, and of those conquerors concerned with them, amongst whom I was put down as one of the most ancient. I accordingly went round with the letter to the other conquerors settled in this city, to raise a sum by subscription for the purpose. This project failed from want of money. It was then determined that the conquerors in Mexico, conjointly with the whole of the community, should send procuradors to Castille; but neither was this carried into effect. At a subsequent period, our unconquered king and lord Don Philip, whom God preserve, and may he live many years in augmentation of power, was pleased to command by his royal ordinances that the conquerors and their posterity should be provided for, attending in the first instance to those who were married, as may be seen in the royal cedules.

When I had written out fairly this my history, two licentiates requested me to lend it to them for their perusal, in order that they might know in detail the occurrences which happened in the conquest of New Spain, and also that they might see what difference existed between my account, and those of Gomara and the Doctor Illescas, relative to the heroic actions of the Marquis Del Valle. I accordingly presented this book to them for their perusal, with the respect which is due to scholars from a poor illiterate person like myself, desiring them at the same time to make no alteration

whatever herein, as what I had written was the strict truth. As soon as they had read it, one of them who was a great rhetorician, and vain of his knowledge, began to praise the book, and expressed his surprise at my memory, and at my being able to carry in it such a series of matter, from the time I first came to these countries.

The licentiates also observed, that in regard to my stile or language, it was conformable to that in ordinary use in Old Castille, and that as such it was the more agreeable, not being embarrassed with flowery affected phrases, such as are made use of by historians in general. They also observed that it seemed to them as if I praised myself greatly, in the battles which I give an account of, whereas I ought to have left that to be done by others; and that I should have given my witnesses, testimonies, and quotations, as authorities for what I wrote, and not have said drily, "that I did; this I saw;" it not being conformable to the custom of historical writing; for I am not a witness for myself. To these observations I then replied, as I do now, that in the year one thousand five hundred and forty the Marquis Del Valle wrote a letter to his Majesty giving an account of me and my services, how I had come twice to this country on voyages of discovery previous to his expedition, how he had often been an eye witness of my conduct as a brave soldier in battle as well in Mexico as in other places, how I accompanied him in his expedition to Honduras and Higueras, and many other particulars which to avoid prolixity I will not relate. The most illustrious viceroy also, Don Alonzo de Mendoza wrote to his Majesty informing him of what he had learned relative to me from the captains by whose side I fought, and his account was in all respects conformable to that of the Marquis Del Valle. Proofs to the same purport were also presented on my part to the royal council of the Indies in the year one thousand five hundred and forty.

Now, said I, gentlemen licentiates, are not the Marquis Del Valle, the viceroy D. A. de Mendoza, and my proofs,

good witnesses? but if they will not suffice, I will produce you the Emperor our lord Don Carlos the fifth, who by his royal letter, sealed with his royal seal, commanded all viceroys and presidents, that respecting the many and good services which I had rendered, benefits should be conferred upon me and mine. The original letters are now in my possession, and the copies deposited at court in the archives of the secretary Ochoa de Luyado. Such was my answer to the observation of the licentiates.

But to return to my subject, if more testimony is wanting look at New Spain which is three times larger than our Castille, and more thickly inhabited by Spaniards, and the great wealth which it sends to Castille. But I have observed that the historians Gomara and Illescas never chose to relate our heroic actions, leaving all our value and honours in the dark, where they would have remained were it not for this my true history, and assigning such great merit to Cortes; in which, although they were right to a certain degree, yet they ought not at the same time to have forgotten us.

Of the achievements of Cortes a part also of the honour falls to me, for I was one of the most forward in every battle by his side, as I was in many others when he sent me under different captains to conquer provinces, as is found written in my history, how, when, and where.

Also when Cortes returned to Europe the first time, to kiss his Majesty's feet, he informed him that he had many valiant captains and companions in the Mexican wars, and who he believed did not yield to the most famous in ancient history. Of this praise a proportionate share falls to me. Further, at Algiers, he said much in praise of his companions the conquerors. Of this I come in for my portion, as I was one of them.

As to what the licentiates said, that I praise myself so much, and that I ought to leave it to be done by others, I say, in common life it is the custom of neighbours to speak of each other as each deserves; but he who never was in the

wars with us, nor saw them, nor heard of them, how can he speak of us? were the birds which flew over our heads while in battle to give accounts of us? or the clouds? who then was to speak our praises but we ourselves? Indeed gentlemen licentiates said I had you found that I detracted from the honour due to one of our valiant captains or soldiers, and ascribed it to myself, then you might justly blame me. But the fact is that I do not praise myself so much as I ought.

I will now make a comparison, although on one side the subject of it is very high, and on the other a poor soldier like myself. Historians say that the great emperor and warrior Julius Cæsar was in fifty three pitched battles. I say that I was in many more battles than Julius Cæsar, as may be seen in this my history. Historians also say that Julius Cæsar was brave and active in battle, and that when he had time, he at night committed to writing with his own hand, his heroic actions, although he had many historians, not chusing to entrust the office to them. Truly this happened many years ago, and may or may not be the case; whereas what I relate occurred yesterday as it may be said. It is therefore not extraordinary if I relate the battles in which I fought, that in future ages it should be said, "thus did Bernal Diaz del Castillo," in order that my sons and their posterity should enjoy the praises of their ancestor, in the manner that many cavaliers and lords of vassals in the present day, do the fames and blazons of their predecessors. I will however drop this subject lest the detracting malicious, to whom these things are odious, should charge me with digressing too much. There are also conquerors now living to contradict me if I were in error, and the world is so malevolent that any such thing could hardly pass without animadversion; but the narrative itself is the best testimony of its veracity.

I will now enumerate and particularise the various battles and other matters of warfare in which I was present. They are as follows. At the point of Cotoche, with Captain F. H.

de Cordova. At Champoton, a battle, wherein half our companions were killed. In Florida, where we landed to procure water. Under Captain J. de Grijalva, a second battle in Champoton. In my third voyage under Cortes, at Tabasco, two pitched battles. On our arrival in New Spain, the battle of Cingapacinga. Shortly after, three pitched battles with the Tlascalans. The affair of Cholula. On our entry into Mexico I was at the seizure of Montezuma; I do not mention it as an affair of war, but on account of its great boldness. In four months after, the attack upon Narvaez whom we under Cortes defeated with two hundred and seventy six men, he having one thousand three hundred. The relief of Alvarado who was besieged by the Mexicans, when they made war upon us during eight days and nights, and killed above eight hundred and seventy soldiers; I consider six battles as having happened during this period, at which I was present. The battle of Obtumba. A battle at Tepeaca. Under Cortes a battle at Tezcuco. Two field battles, in one of which I was wounded in the throat by a lance. Two actions concerning the fields of maize. In the expedition round the lake when we made that rash and inconsiderate attack upon the fortresses named the rocks of the marquis. The battle of Cuernavaca. Three battles at Suchimilco. The siege of Mexico which lasted ninety three days, during which I was engaged, as I find by my account, in above eighty battles and skirmishes. After the conquest when I was sent to pacify the provinces of Guacacualco, Chiapa, and the Zapotecans. In Chamula and Cuitlan, two engagements. In Teapa and Chimatan two engagements; here I was wounded badly in the throat. I forgot to mention in its place, how, after our flight from Mexico we were pursued for nine days, and fought four battles. In the Expedition to Higueras and Honduras, an action at Culacotu, where my horse which cost me six hundred crowns was killed. After my return to Mexico I went against the Zapotecans and Minxes in the mountains. I do not mention numberless

other engagements and dangers in which I have been, as it would be endless to detail them all. Nor do I chuse to say how I was one of the first who came to lay siege to Mexico, three or four days at least before Cortes.

I have therefore according to this account been present in one hundred and nineteen battles and engagements; and it is not extraordinary if I praise myself, as what I say is the mere truth. Nor are these old stories or histories of Romans, of many ages past; for evident and true are the many and notable services which I have rendered; first to God, then to his Majesty, and all Christendom; and I give thanks and praises to our Lord Jesus Christ, that I escaped from all dangers, to make these things manifest; and I also say, and praise myself thereon, that I have been in as many battles and engagements as, according to history, the Emperor Henry the fourth.

THE END

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